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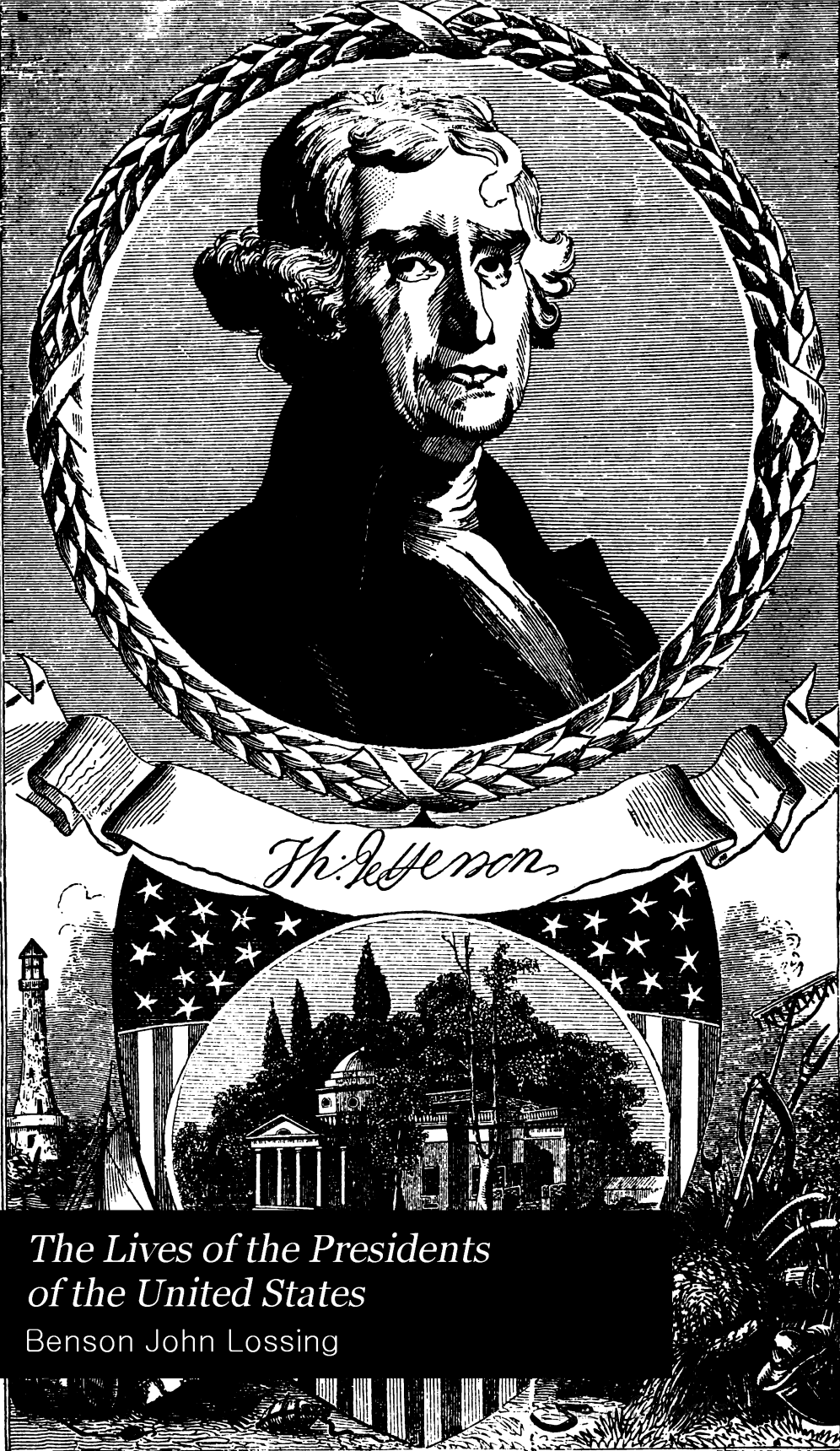
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*The Lives of the Presidents
of the United States*

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Declaration of Independence, 1776

THE
LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS
OF THE
UNITED STATES;

(19)

EMBRACING A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE
PRINCIPAL EVENTS OF THEIR RESPECTIVE ADMINISTRATIONS,

TO WHICH IS APPENDED,

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,
WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS, A LIST OF CABINET OFFICERS, AND A
TABLE OF THE YEARLY EXPENDITURES OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT.

BY BENSON J. LOSSING.



Capitol at Washington.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND INTERESTING LOCALITIES.

NEW YORK:
H. PHELPS & CO., 124 NASSAU ST.

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PREFACE.

WE have prepared the following pages with the single purpose of presenting in a popular form, for the instruction of youthful Americans, the leading events in the respective lives and administrations of those who have been called to preside over the affairs of our republic. This is the first of a series of works, adapted to the tastes and wants of the young American, which we intend to prepare for the press, under the earnest impression that in this way germs of knowledge, particularly useful to the American citizen, may be from time to time implanted in the luxuriant soil of the popular mind, that will, in the future, spring up and bring forth fruit a thousand-fold.

Princes, especially those who are heirs-apparent to the throne of royalty, are instructed with the utmost care in all lessons of wisdom, and in the duties pertaining to the conduct of a reigning sovereign. Here, every boy is heir-apparent to the throne of sovereignty, and every girl may become a queen-mother. Hence it follows that general instruction upon subjects of national importance — those which relate to our history, jurisprudence, the characters of men active in our public affairs past and present, and all other topics with which an American statesman and enlightened citizen ought to be familiar — can not be too early instilled into the mind of the young of both sexes. The limits to which we shall restrict ourselves will preclude the possibility of treating any of these subjects in minute detail; but we shall endeavor so to condense the principal points of interest, that no important omission will be found. If we shall thus succeed in depositing merely the germs of general information in the young mind, that, like nursery-tales, shall take deep root and never be forgotten; or if we shall be instrumental in developing a thirst for knowledge, and awakening earnest inquiries and investigation respecting the things we present to view, our object will be more than half accomplished, and we shall gladly perform the duty of usher at the portals of popular intelligence, pointing like a guide-post to the spacious galleries within: for we had rather be a door-keeper in the house of wisdom than to dwell in the tents of ignorance.

In sketching the lives of the presidents, and the events of their respective administrations, we have been obliged to study and practise brevity; but we

believe we have embraced all of the most important events connected with their career. We have devoted much more space to the first three than to any of the others for the obvious reason that, during the twenty years intervening between the inauguration of Washington and the retirement of Jefferson, the disjointed materials of a new government were adjusted and fixed, and the general policy of the country was established upon a basis still recognised as the true and just one.

We have appended the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, and Washington's Farewell Address, being documents that properly belong in this connexion: for the first declared us free; the second is the chart by which the ship of state is guided; and the third is a lesson of sound practical wisdom for those who hold the helm. An addendum of much interest is also given, which shows the various phases of the executive branch of the government, and the fiscal affairs of the country, at all periods since the formation of our federal compact. With this general notice of our object and design, we cast our crumb upon the waters.

B. J. L.

NEW YORK, *September*, 1847.

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LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



It has too frequently been the self-imposed task of the biographer, when delineating the lines of character which distinguished the great men whose lives he may have been portraying, to delve assiduously amid the debris of genealogical records of the past to find some brilliant jewel of ancestry whence his subject might derive a superior lustre, and present a readier passport to the public regard. Great, sometimes, has been the anxious search for proofs of ancestral rank — rank derived merely from the bauble patent of nobility, bestowed according to the caprices of a prince; and when that rank has been discovered, albeit the clue may have been covered up and hidden by plebeian or vicious obscurities, it has been gloried over as the basis of all the wealth of character to be rehearsed, and as the true signet of legitimate greatness, regardless of the paramount claims of virtue and intelligence.

The field of biography is crowded densely with flowering shrubs of this nature, at whose roots lies the nutritious compost of mouldering nobility, and they are thereby nurtured into a display of green leaf and broad, bright flower, as expansive as the flaunting heliotrope; while many a violet, of true divinity of character, is almost unheeded in its seclusion, and seen only by those who seek for real worth and loveliness amid the lowly in the world's esteem, and spiritually beautiful.

But there are a few vigorous plants that tower high above all the rest, beautiful to the eye and fragrant beyond estimation, that, like those of the garden which derive their chief nutriment from the ammonia of the atmosphere, flourish by inherent energy and the genial influence of surrounding circumstances. There are gems of purest ray, that radiate, not reflect; a steady lustre; there are characters that, instead of

His ancestors.—His military genius early developed.

deriving illumination from even a truly noble ancestry, cast a brilliant retrospective light upon the genealogical tree, and, like the opal, "shine in lustre all their own." Such was GEORGE WASHINGTON, to the brightness of whose character even royalty itself could not add a ray.

The family of Washington may be traced some distance back among the old English gentry at Turtfield and Wharton, in Lancashire. There was a manor of that name in the county of Durham; and about the middle of the thirteenth century, the proprietor, William de Hertburn, assumed the name of his estate, and from him the Washington family have descended. In the year 1657, John and Lawrence Washington, brothers of Sir William Washington,* the son and heir of Lawrence Washington, of Sulgrave, emigrated to Virginia, and settled at Bridge's Creek, on the Potomac, in the county of Westmoreland.† John died in 1697, leaving two sons, John and Augustine. Augustine was twice married. His second wife was Mary Ball, by whom he had six children, four sons and two daughters. George, his eldest (the subject of this sketch), was born on the 22d‡ of February, 1732, and was the sixth in descent from the first Lawrence Washington of Sulgrave. His father, soon after his birth, purchased an estate upon the Rappahannock, opposite Fredericksburg, where he lived at the time of his death, which occurred when George was little more than ten years of age.

The cares of a large family devolved upon his young mother; but, aided by a strong mind, she performed the duties of parent and guardian with the greatest fidelity and success. Sound moral training was her chief solicitude; and she had the gratification of seeing all her children act well their part while upon the theatre of life.

George received a common English education, and from his earliest years was studious and thoughtful. Such was his demeanor at school, that his companions always made him umpire in cases of dispute. His military propensities were early developed. He formed his school-companions into companies, who went through all the evolutions of military "children of larger growth," and fought mimic battles. George was always appointed commander of one of the parties.|| Truth and strict integrity were his prominent characteristics.§ At the age of four-

* He married a half-sister of George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

† John was employed in a military command against the Indians, and rose to the rank of colonel.

‡ The 11th of February, Old Style calendar.

|| At the age of fourteen years he applied for and obtained a midshipman's warrant in the British navy. His mother induced him to relinquish it.

§ The following is an illustration of his truthfulness. In company with other boys, he secured a fiery colt, belonging to his mother, yet unbroken to the bit, and mounted him. The affrighted animal dashed furiously across the fields, and in his violent exertions, burst a blood-vessel and died. The colt was a valuable one, and many youths would have sought an evasive excuse. Not so with George. He went immediately to his mother, and, stating plainly

His pursuits.—Accompanies his brother to Barbadoes.—Appointed a commissioner to the French.

teen he was a close student of geometry, and his mind seemed to delight in thridding the intricacies of legal business. He wrote considerably, and among his productions of childhood were a series of "*Rules of Behavior in Company and Conversation*," which contain many maxims serviceable to the young and the old.

Although his father left a large estate, yet, when divided among his family, it was inconsiderable for each. Both inclination and prospective necessity caused George to employ his youthful hours in industry, and he made surveying his profession. Through this, he became thoroughly acquainted with the border region of Virginia, and this knowledge afterward served him in the judicious purchase of land that greatly increased his private fortune.

Such were his acknowledged capacities, that at the age of nineteen years he was appointed one of the adjutants-general of his state,* with the rank of major, which office he held but a short time. His brother Lawrence, who had been for some time suffering from a pulmonary complaint, resolved, under the advice of his physician, to seek health in the West Indies. Desirous of having a friend with him, and being much attached to George, he proposed to him to accompany him, which he did, and they sailed for Barbadoes in the autumn of 1751. There George had a severe attack of the small-pox, and the health of his brother still remaining precarious, he returned home to accompany Lawrence's wife to Bermuda, whither he (Lawrence) was to go the next spring. During the summer Lawrence returned home and died, and George was appointed one of his executors, which trust he executed admirably, though young and inexperienced.

The French having projected the bold design of uniting Canada and Louisiana by a chain of forts along the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi, and having, indeed, took actual possession of territory on the Ohio claimed by Virginia, the authorities of that colony resolved to appoint a commissioner to confer with the French commandant, demand cessation of further encroachments, and, if possible, ascertain their real designs. This delicate mission was intrusted to young Washington, then only twenty-one years of age. It was late in autumn when he started, and mid-winter before he returned. Over the rugged crag and through the deep ravines of the Alleghanies, amid hostile savages, and sleet and snow, he made the dangerous journey, with only eight persons, and reached the French fort (Du Quesne, the site of the present city of Pittsburgh) in safety. He was politely treated by the commandant (St. Pierre),

all the circumstances, asked her forgiveness, which, of course, was readily granted. Her reply is remarkable: "Young man, I forgive you, because you have the courage to tell the truth at once; had you skulked away, I should have despised you."

* The encroachments of the French, and the threatening attitude of the Indians, called for a systematic training of all the militia of the state for actual service.

Expedition to Fort Du Quesne. — His defeat. — Accompanied Braddock.

but the letter from that officer which he carried back to Governor Dinwiddie was not at all satisfactory.* But so well did Washington perform his duty, that he received the public thanks of the Virginia assembly.†

The authorities of Virginia at once determined to raise a regiment of three hundred men, and send them into the disputed territory, to maintain the rights of the English government. Colonel Fry was appointed to the chief command, and Major Washington was made lieutenant-colonel. Early in May the troops prepared to march. Washington was permitted to go on in advance with two companies, and on the 27th of May he reached the Great Meadows. On the night of the 28th (it was very dark and stormy) he surrounded a party of sixty Frenchmen who were near, under De Jumonville, and killed or captured the whole, except one man.

Colonel Fry having died suddenly, Washington was appointed to the command of the regiment. He immediately erected a fort (which he called Necessity) at the Great Meadows, expecting an attack from the enemy as soon as the defeat of De Jumonville should be known. Being joined by some troops from New York and Carolina, he pushed forward toward Du Quesne; but learning that the enemy, fifteen hundred strong, were marching to oppose him, he returned to Fort Necessity, where he was attacked, and after a resistance of ten hours, he was obliged to capitulate.‡ The terms were honorable to him, he and his men being allowed to return to Virginia unmolested.

In the spring of 1755, an expedition under General Braddock was sent against the French and Indians. At the earnest solicitation of Braddock, Washington consented to serve as a volunteer in the character of aid-de-camp.§ After a toilsome march they reached the vicinity of Fort Du Quesne, and were suddenly attacked by an ambush. Braddock fell, mortally wounded,|| and the other superior officers having been killed or wounded, the troops fled in dismay. By great efforts, Washington rallied them and made good their retreat, in perfect order, to Fort Cumberland. The protecting hand of Providence was visible on this day. Washington rode in every direction during the engagement, distributing

* The journal which he kept during this expedition was published by authority, and made him very favorably known throughout the colonies.

† Washington happening to enter the gallery of the assembly-chamber, was seen by the speaker, who immediately proposed a vote of thanks. Every member arose and saluted the young hero with a bow. He attempted to reply to the resolution of thanks, but his voice faltered. The speaker saw it, and thus complimented him: "Sit down, Major Washington, your modesty is alone equal to your merit."

‡ Washington had left the army on account of a regulation by which the colonial officers were made to take rank lower than those of the regular army.

§ Washington, who well understood the Indian mode of warfare, attempted to advise Braddock in his movements, but the haughty commander refused his proffered knowledge, and disdainfully said, "What! a young American buskin teach a British general how to fight!"

Appointed commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces.—Marries Mrs. Custis.

the general's orders, and constantly exposed to the sharp-shooters of the enemy; yet, although two horses were killed under him, and four bullets passed through his coat, he escaped unhurt.* On returning to Virginia, debilitated with sickness and fatigue, he left the service and returned to Mount Vernon, where his mother now resided, followed by the sincere blessings of the colonies.†

The following year, the little colonial army of Virginia was newly organized, and Colonel Washington appointed to the chief command. A dispute concerning precedence having arisen between him and a Maryland officer, who held a royal commission, he was sent to Boston to lay the matter, in person, before General Shirley, then commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Washington's pretensions, based upon right, were sustained, and he returned to his field of duty,‡ where jealousy with busy tongue soon attempted to disparage his services, and rob him of the unbounded confidence of his countrymen, which he possessed. The effort proved fruitless, and his enemies found that they were "biting a file!" For two years he performed the duties of commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces, under every discouragement, until, toward the close of 1757, he was seized with a fever which confined him four months at Mount Vernon. During the year following, he was actively engaged, both in Virginia and on the borders, in operations against the French and Indians in that quarter, and at the close of the campaign he resigned his commission and retired to private life. The military scenes he had participated in gave him many advantages during his subsequent exalted career.

At the age of twenty-seven years he married Mrs. Martha Custis,* widow of John Parke Custis, a lady about three months his junior, every way worthy of him, and distinguished alike for ^{a Jan. 6, 1759.} her beauty, accomplishments, and wealth. She had two children, over whom Washington exercised all the care and solicitude of a father. The estate of Mount Vernon had been bequeathed to him by his brother Lawrence, and the fortune of his wife, added thereto, gave him the possession of ample means; and from the stirring scenes of military life, where he had won much glory, he turned his attention to the peaceful pursuits of husbandry and the enjoyment of domestic life. For fifteen

* It is related that an Indian said that he had fifteen fair shots at him on that day, but could not hit him.

† The Rev. Mr. Davis, in a sermon preached soon after Braddock's defeat, uttered the following prophetic sentiment: "I can not but hope that Providence has preserved this youth to be the savior of his country."

‡ While in New York, on his return from Boston, he was kindly entertained at the house of Beverly Robinson (at whose country mansion, near West Point, was the scene of Arnold's treason), and was there deeply smitten by the charms and rare accomplishments of Miss Phillips. But a rival—a companion-in-arms at Braddock's defeat—Captain Morris, wooed and won her.

Appointed a deputy in the first Continental Congress.—Appointed commander-in-chief of the Army.

years he was thus employed, except when occasionally called to be a representative in the provincial assembly, or to the performance of some temporary public duty.* During the storm which the stamp-act aroused,^a

^a 1765. although he was not very actively engaged in public opposition, yet all that private influence, connected with some public acts, could do to roll back the tide of oppression, was done by him.

When the tyrannical acts of Parliament (among which was the odious Boston port bill) reached America,^a and produced a fever of patriotic resistance, out of which emanated the first GENERAL CONGRESS in 1774, Washington was appointed one of the deputies from Virginia. So eminent were his military abilities considered, that he was put upon every committee in that body whose services appertained to military affairs; and he was exceedingly useful in arranging matters for future action. And when, the following year, the patriot army that sprang into powerful existence at the call of freedom, and invested Boston, the seat of executive oppression in America, was adopted by the Congress^b

^b June 14, 1775. and called the CONTINENTAL ARMY, Washington was, by unanimous vote, called to the chief command. He accepted the appointment, but with much diffidence,[†] and declined all compensation for his services,[‡] asking only to have his necessary expenses paid.

Immediately after his appointment, he proceeded to Cambridge, in Massachusetts, and took command of the continental army. Already ^c April 19. the blood of patriots had been spilled at Lexington,^c and the ^d June 17. tragedy of Bunker Hill^d had been enacted; and he found the troops (about fourteen thousand in number) eager to vindicate and maintain the honor and freedom of their country. But he wisely deemed perfect organization and discipline more essential to the success of the cause than impetuous offensive warfare, and it was several months before he attacked the British troops, in their supposed stronghold, in Boston.

It would be impossible to trace in detail the career of Washington

* He officiated as justice of the peace for a number of years.

† The speech of Washington on this occasion, considering every circumstance, is one of the most remarkable on record. He said, "Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess, in this service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered by gentlemen in this room that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, sir, I beg leave to assure Congress that as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept the arduous employment at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

‡ Congress voted a salary of five hundred dollars a month for the commander-in-chief.

through the eventful scenes of the Revolution, within the very narrow limits prescribed for this sketch, and we shall be obliged therefore to take a mere bird's-eye view of it, referring our readers to the more voluminous biographies of the immortal chief with which our literature abounds.

Washington found himself at the head of an undisciplined army, scantily clothed, provisioned, and armed; yet with all these discouragements, he attempted to expel the British from Boston, and fully succeeded. They evacuated the town on the 17th of March, 1776. General Howe, who commanded the British forces, sailed with them and about fifteen hundred loyalists, or tories, for Halifax, Nova Scotia, leaving behind him considerable arms and provisions.

Washington's solicitude was now felt for the city of New York, whither he feared General Howe had sailed, and he immediately commenced his march toward that place. Early in July, the British land and naval forces, under the command of General Howe and his brother, Admiral Lord Howe, arrived off Sandy Hook. They were accompanied by a large body of German mercenaries called Hessians. They first landed upon Staten island,^a and Washington prepared to receive them. Perceiving it to be their intention to land upon Long island, he sent a large portion of his army thither. Upon Brooklyn heights and vicinity a severe battle was fought, and the Americans were defeated with great loss.^b Washington saw the hopelessness of success, and instead of waiting to renew the contest the next morning, he silently withdrew all his troops across the river at night, and placed them in an attitude of defence upon York island. For more than forty-eight hours he was without sleep, and the most of the time on horseback.*

After some slight skirmishing in the vicinity of Harlem, the Americans took post at White Plains, where a partial battle was fought, which was not decisive.^c Washington retreated to Croton, while the British commander marched back and took possession of Fort Washington^d upon York island, with nearly three thousand Americans as prisoners. On hearing of this disaster, Washington with his army crossed the Hudson into New Jersey, and for nearly three weeks he was closely pursued across that state by Cornwallis. On the 8th of December he crossed the Delaware, taking with him all the boats, to prevent the enemy following. The British army entered Trenton at the moment the last boat of the Americans left it.

* The American army had a very narrow escape from destruction. Providentially, a dense fog obscured all their movements, and their retreat was unobserved by the enemy. When the fog rose, they saw the British taking possession of the spot which they occupied only an hour before.

Battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, and Germantown. — Encampment at Valley Forge.

On the night of the 25th of December, Washington in person led a large detachment of his little army across the Delaware, and about daybreak, in the face of a violent storm of snow, he attacked the British and Hessians. A squadron of British dragoons and about five hundred infantry fled down the river at the first fire; but about one thousand Hessians were taken prisoners, and before night were carried across the Delaware and secured. This glorious achievement sent a thrill of joy through the country, and fully restored and added to that confidence of the people in the abilities of the commander-in-chief, which late reverses had caused somewhat to wane.

As soon as the prisoners were disposed of, Washington returned to
 a Jan. 2, 1777. Trenton,* where he was met by a superior force under Cornwallis. During the night he silently withdrew toward Princeton,* intending to attempt the capture of the enemy's stores at New Brunswick. Near Princeton he met a large detachment of the British army, and a severe battle ensued,^b during which the brave General Mercer was mortally wounded. The Americans were successful.

The British commander, being in possession of New York, was anxious to have Philadelphia also. During the spring he made ineffectual attempts to draw Washington from his strong position among the New Jersey hills, and finally, in July,^c embarked his troops and proceeded by the way of the Chesapeake. He landed at the head of Elk river on the 25th of August, and was met by Washington at the fords of the Brandywine, where a well-contested battle was
 c July 5. fought,^d in which the Americans were defeated. On the 25th, the British entered and took possession of Philadelphia, and formed, soon after, their camp at Germantown, where they were attacked by the Americans.^e The latter were repulsed with considerable loss, and took a strong position at Whitemarsh. Howe attempted to dislodge Washington, but failed, and finally went into winter quarters at Philadelphia. Washington, determined to defend the adjacent country and closely hem the British in the city, selected Valley Forge for winter quarters.

Never did patriotism shine with a purer lustre than was exhibited in the patient sufferings of the American troops during their encampment at Valley Forge. The winter was a very severe one. The army was poorly clad, and many a bare footprint, marked with blood, was seen in

* At dawn, greatly to the surprise of the British, not an American soldier was to be seen. "Where can Washington be gone?" asked Cornwallis. A cannon was heard in the direction of Princeton: "There he is," replied Erskine, "rehearsing the tragedy of Colonel Ralle" (the Hessian commander killed at Trenton). "By Jove!" cried Cornwallis, "he deserves to fight in the cause of his king."

the snow when they marched into quarters in December. Huts were erected, but the scarcity of food and fuel made their sufferings intense. The keenest sympathies of the commander-in-chief were awakened,* and the fact that, amid all this misery, and with the gloomy prospect of defeat and destruction before them, the demon of mutiny scarcely showed its turbulent head, speaks volumes in praise of the influence of Washington over his army, and their affectionate attachment to his person.

While physical suffering all around him was preying upon the spirits of Washington, and he was day after day urging Congress to do something to relieve his famishing troops, jealousy and intrigue, among men in high places, were busy at the plumes of the commander-in-chief, and laboring assiduously for his supersession. Gates had been successful in conquering Burgoyne at the north, and comparisons were drawn between his services and those of Washington, in which the latter were disparaged.† But all the arts of the faction to alienate the confidence and affection of the people and the army from Washington were vain. He deeply felt the injury, but instead of publicly vindicating his character from the aspersions thrown upon it by an anonymous writer, and thus reveal to the enemy what he ought not to know, he chose rather to suffer the temporary opprobrium in silence, for his country's good.

Early in May, intelligence was received that France had acknowledged, by treaty, the independence of the United States; and the expectation that a French fleet would speedily enter the Delaware, caused Sir Henry Clinton, who had just taken command of the British army, to evacuate Philadelphia. He crossed the Delaware into New Jersey, closely pursued by Washington.‡ He was overtaken at Monmouth, where a severe battle of several hours was fought,^a and terminated only when night approached and they were over-^bcome by excessive fatigue. Washington intended to renew the contest in the morning, and slept upon the battle-field "with his martial cloak

* In a letter to Congress he said: "For some days there has been little less than famine in the camp. A part of the army have been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we can not enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, and that they have not been, ere this, excited by their sufferings to a general mutiny and dispersion."

† A series of anonymous letters, signed "*De Lisle*," was published. It was afterward discovered that they were written by General Conway, a disappointed officer, who failed of promotion.

‡ Washington left Arnold (who had not recovered from wounds received at Quebec) in command as military governor of Philadelphia. It was during his stay there that he fell into those extravagant habits and dishonest speculations which finally made him bankrupt, and obnoxious to the censures of Congress, which ordered for him a reprimand from Washington. This was done by the commander-in-chief in the most delicate manner; but Arnold's pride was touched — his purse was empty — and he bargained for the sale of his country's liberties for "thirty pieces of silver," or rather for thirty thousand pounds sterling.

Arduous duties of Washington. — Is appointed Lieutenant-General and Vice-Admiral of France.

around him." But under the cover of night the enemy suddenly withdrew, and reaching Sandy Hook, embarked for New York city.* Wash-

ington took post on the Hudson, and in this relative position
^{a July 4.} the two armies went into winter quarters.

The theatre of active military operations having been changed to the southern department of the confederacy, Washington was not personally engaged in them until the summer of 1780. His duties, however, were very arduous—sometimes exceedingly delicate—and he performed them amid the greatest causes for despondency. Upon him rested, not only the whole control of the military movements of the fragmental army, but the civil operations of the imperfect government demanded his constant vigilance and influence. The alliance with France became too much the reliance of the people, and general apathy prevailed; while in Congress, party dissensions threatened the complete frustration of all the plans of the commander-in-chief, and, indeed, the utter ruin of the cause.* But in the spring of 1780, a happy change in affairs took place. La Fayette, who was dearly loved by Washington,† went to France on parole, and assiduously labored while there to induce the government to send men and money in aid of the Americans.

He succeeded, and early in May^b he returned and brought the cheering intelligence that a large body of troops, under the count de Rochambeau, was already embarked. He also brought from the French king a commission to Washington, appointing him lieutenant-general of the armies of France, and vice-admiral of its fleets. Those commissions were intended to determine definitely the matter of precedence, so that no difficulty might arise on that account between Washington and De Rochambeau. He was thereby made commander-in-chief of all the military and naval forces which the French government might send to America. The cheering news brought by La Fayette greatly inspired the Americans, and the militia flocked to Washington's standard in large numbers.

The French fleet arrived at Newport in July,^c but, after a conference which Washington held with the French officers at
^{d Sept.} Hartford, in Connecticut,^d it was determined not to enter upon offensive operations until the following spring. It was during that

* Washington saw these things with the deepest pain, and in a letter to a friend, said, "Indeed, we seem to be verging so fast to destruction, that I am filled with sensations to which I have been a stranger until these three months. Our enemies behold with exultation and joy how effectually we labor for their benefit: and from being in a state of absolute despair, and on the point of evacuating America, they are on tiptoe. Nothing, therefore, in my judgment, can save us, but a total reformation in our own conduct, or some decisive turn of affairs in Europe."

† La Fayette entered the continental army just before the battle of Brandywine, and, although very young, received from Congress the commission of a major-general. Soon after the battle of Monmouth, he made a visit to France.

Arnold's treason.—Effects of Washington's perseverance.—Insurrection of troops.

conference that Arnold, taking advantage of Washington's absence from his headquarters in the Highlands, attempted to consummate his acts of treason, and give a death-blow to American independence. But an ever-vigilant Providence interposed, and the cause of Freedom most signally triumphed. Major André, the victim of the traitor's guilt, was hung, by Washington's consent,* but only as a sacrifice to justice and stern necessity, for the tears of generous sympathy* a Oct. 2,
1780. brimmed the eyes of the commander-in-chief when he signed the warrant for his execution.

During the autumn and winter, Washington was assiduously engaged in endeavors to reorganize the army; but Congress was so tardy in its movements, and so deaf to his earnest appeals for more troops and longer enlistments,† that, as usual, his forces were reduced one half on the first of January by the termination of their enlistments. Yet he did not despond, although the main body of the British army was within a few hours' march of him, and most of the winter the Hudson was open to their ships. By his consummate skill and personal influence, he managed to fill his ranks with recruits, and kept the enemy at bay. His pen was constantly busy in extensive correspondence with his distant officers and with governors of the states and influential individuals,—issuing orders and suggestions to the former, and soliciting aid from the latter. Thus he obtained money for the use of his almost famished and naked soldiers; and he also induced the French government to send more money and another naval force to his aid.

So grievous had become the destitute condition of the soldiers, that they determined to obtain from Congress by coercion what was denied them upon petition; and on the 1st of January,^b the whole b 1781. Pennsylvania line, stationed at Morristown, consisting of about thirteen hundred troops, mutinied, and marched in the direction of Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session. By the prudent management of Washington, and his promises to attend upon Congress in person in their behalf, he induced the soldiers to return to duty,‡ to suffer and faintly hope, yet longer.

* Arnold, in his haste to escape, when he learned the capture of André, was obliged to leave his wife and infant child at his quarters, nearly opposite West Point. From the Vulture he wrote to Washington, justifying his conduct, and imploring his protection for his wife and child. That protection was tenderly extended, and she was safely conducted to New York.

† His appeals had some effect upon Congress at last, and they issued orders for enlistments during the war, and voted that all the officers should have half-pay for life. This latter proposition did not meet with general favor, and was subsequently changed to the payment of five years' full pay.

‡ "We love and respect you," said the mutineers to General Wayne, who was sent by Washington to persuade them to return to duty—"we are not going to the enemy: on the contrary, were they now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much

Attempt to capture Arnold.—Siege of Yorktown, and capture of Cornwallis.

During the winter, Washington formed a plan for capturing Arnold* and his whole army, who were carrying on a destructive predatory warfare in Virginia. His scheme was an admirable one, but failed through the inefficient action of the French fleet, which was directed to blockade the principal ports of Virginia. He then determined to drive the enemy from the city of New York, and for that purpose ordered the French allies to join him upon the Hudson. This was effected in July,* but

* July 6,
1781.

about the same time Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement from Europe of about three thousand troops, and Washington abandoned the design, and prepared to march to Virginia to assist Wayne and La Fayette in their operations against Cornwallis. He

b Aug. 14.

received a letter from the count De Grasse,^b the commander of the French fleet then in the West Indies, assuring him that he would be in the Chesapeake early in autumn. Washington then directed La Fayette so to dispose of his forces as to prevent the escape of Cornwallis to Charleston, while with their united armies they might capture him. But Cornwallis, expecting aid by sea from Clinton, collected his whole force at Yorktown and strongly fortified it.

c Aug. 22.

After providing for the defence of the northern posts, Washington crossed the Hudson, with the whole allied army, and marching through New Jersey in the direction of Staten island, deceived Clinton into the belief that that was his point of destination. The British commander did not discover this *ruse* until the allied army crossed the Delaware and were rapidly speeding southward. On their arrival at Williamsburg,^d in Virginia, the French fleet was already in the

d Sept. 14.

Chesapeake. On the 6th of October, Washington commenced the siege of Yorktown; and on the 19th, Cornwallis surrendered—and seven thousand men, with a large amount of arms and military stores, fell into the hands of the Americans.† This event filled the whole

alacrity as ever: but we will no longer be amused; we are determined on obtaining what is our just due." And when the British commander sent emissaries among them, to seduce them to the ranks of the enemy, "See," said they, "he takes us to be traitors!" and they seized the emissaries and handed them over to Wayne for execution as spies. Being offered a reward for their apprehension, the revolvers nobly refused it, saying that necessity forced them to revolt and demand justice from Congress, but they desired no reward for doing their duty to their bleeding country.

* Arnold entered zealously into the service of his royal master, immediately after his flight on board the Vulture.

† Immediately after the surrender, Washington hastened to Eltham, thirty miles distant, where his wife was attending the bedside of her dying (and only) son, Mr. Custis. With all a father's sorrow, the hero wept over him, and when he was laid in the grave, he hastened to Philadelphia, stopping briefly at Mount Vernon, for the first time in six years.

It is related that when the British soldiers were about to march out and lay down their arms at Yorktown, Washington said to the Americans, "My boys, let there be no exultation over a conquered foe! When they lay down their arms, don't huzza: *posterity will huzza for you!*"

country with joy and exultation, and crushed the last dangerous vestige of British power in America.* This was the last military achievement in which Washington was personally engaged, and we shall now view him in the loftier grandeur of his moral character, standing between peace and war, discontent and governmental weakness, like Aaron with his censor, to stay the plague engendered by long years of hardship, and misery, and privation, and the alleged ingratitude of rulers, which threatened to destroy the child of Freedom just taking its first step in the nursery of nations.

On the cessation of hostilities in 1782, and the opening of negotiations for peace with Great Britain, on the basis of the complete independence of the colonies, Washington, with his usual foresight, saw with deep concern the dangerous storm slowly gathering in the army. For a long time the soldiers had received no pay; and so impoverished was the public treasury, and indeed the whole country, by the unceasing levies of an eight years' war, that the disbanding of the army was regarded by reflecting men as an event pregnant with many dangers. The public faith was pledged, but Congress was impotent. Washington prudently resolved to delay the time for disbanding the army as long as practicable; and to keep the soldiers tranquil, he remained with them, and established his headquarters at Newburg, on the Hudson. There, during the autumn of 1782, the spirit of discontent was constantly manifested, and an event occurred which placed the patriotism of Washington in a more conspicuous light than it had ever before appeared. He received a letter from an old and highly-respected colonel of the army, expressing his distrust of a republican government, proposing the establishment of an independent monarchy, and intimating the desire of the army to make the commander-in-chief KING. To this letter Washington made quick reply, sternly rebuking the writer, and declared that no event during the war had given him so much pain. Did ever patriotism beam with purer lustre? How lofty must have been the devotion to his country, of that chief who, at the head of an army who adored him for his goodness, and at the very apex of general popularity, could thus indignantly refuse a proffered crown, and rebuke the man who presented it for acceptance!

* "At the dead of night," says Paulding, "a watchman in the streets of Philadelphia was heard to cry out, 'Past twelve o'clock, and a pleasant morning—Cornwallis is taken!' All but the dead, resting in their last sleep, awoke at this glorious communication. The city became alive at midnight; the candles were lighted, and figures might be seen flitting past the windows, or pushing them up, to hear the sound repeated, lest it should have been nothing but a dream. The citizens ran through the streets, to inquire into the truth; they shook hands, they embraced each other, and they wept for joy. . . . Everybody believed the news, for all, even in the darkest days of the Revolution, had cherished a hope, which carried with it almost the force of inspiration, that Washington would, beyond all doubt, one day give liberty to his country."

The "Newburg Address."—Washington's firmness.—The new Constitution.

Early in the spring of 1783, the prevailing discontent of the troops reached its crisis. An anonymous inflammatory address was secretly circulated among the soldiers,^a and a call for a meeting of the officers was made. Washington immediately called a general meeting of all the officers, in place of the irregular one. He affectionately addressed his companions-in-arms, condemned the tone and spirit of the anonymous address, and then gave them the strongest pledge that he would use his utmost power to induce Congress to grant their demands. When he had concluded he immediately retired from the meeting, and exceedingly brief were the deliberations of the officers. They adopted resolutions, expressing their confidence in the justice of Congress, and thanked the commander-in-chief for the course he had pursued, and declared their unabated attachment to his person.

During the summer, Washington wrote a circular letter to the governors of the states, replete with patriotic sentiment, and this was soon followed by his admirable farewell address to the army. On the 18th of October, Congress proclaimed the disbanding of the continental army; and on the 4th of December, Washington bade a final adieu to his companions-in-arms, and hastened to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, and resigned into its keeping^b the commission which he received from that body more than eight years before, appointing him commander-in-chief of the continental armies.* He then hastened to Mount Vernon, resolved there to pass the remainder of his days amid the pure delights of the domestic circle, and wear in private that crown of glorious renown so nobly won by gallant deeds and patient sufferings for his country's good. In a letter written three days after his arrival home he said: "The scene is at length closed; I feel myself eased of a load of public care, and hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and the practice of the domestic virtues."

But his country, still in a distracted state, greatly needed his wisdom and forethought, and he was soon again drawn forth into active life. The inefficiency of the Articles of Confederation was felt by all reflecting men, and it was obvious that something must be done to remedy the defects, or anarchy and utter ruin would be the result. A convention was called to revise those articles;^c and subsequently another was held,^d when they were entirely laid aside, and a new and more perfect constitution for the government of the country was adopted.^e Washington was a member of that convention, and presided over its deliberations; and when the government was organ-

* On his way to Annapolis, he stopped at Philadelphia, and rendered in his accounts to the auditor-general. The whole amount of his expenditures during the war was only about seventy thousand dollars, and of this nearly ten thousand dollars was for procuring secret intelligence.

Washington elected and inaugurated President.—State of the country.

ized under the new constitution, and a president of the United States was chosen by ballot in the electoral college, Washington was elected by a unanimous vote.

Two days after the intelligence of his election reached him,* ^{a April 16, 1789.} Washington "bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life and domestic felicity," and proceeded to New York, the seat of the federal government. His progress thitherward from Alexandria was like a continued march of triumph, and in every place through which he passed congratulations and addresses met him on every side.* At Philadelphia, a civic crown was placed upon his head; and at Trenton, where he was met by a deputation from Congress, the highest honors were paid to him by the inhabitants.† At Elizabethtown Point he embarked in an elegant barge, rowed by thirteen pilots, and was received at the landing at Whitehall, in New York, by Governor Clinton and suite, amid the joyous acclamations of the citizens and strangers. On the 30th of April,^b he took the inaugural oath on the balcony of the old Federal hall, in the presence of assembled thousands, ^{c 1789.} and this act was the crowning one of the war of independence.

Washington's administration commenced under the pressure of many embarrassments and discouragements. The treasury was empty, a heavy foreign and domestic debt weighed upon the government, foreign intrigue threatened serious trouble, and almost universal agitation at home made everything seem unstable. Two of the thirteen states had not ratified the constitution, but they finally came into the Union—North Carolina in November, 1789, and Rhode Island in May, 1790. Violent political parties arose, whose distinctions are still faintly visible. The friends of the new constitution, with Washington and Adams at their

* So great were the honors with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of an ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great, in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them."—RAMSAY, vol. ii., p. 345.

† A triumphal arch was erected, under the direction of the ladies of the place, upon the crown of which was displayed in large characters, "*December, 1776*" (the day of the battle of Trenton). On the sweep of the arch beneath was this inscription: "*The defender of the mothers will also protect the daughters.*" On one side was arranged a row of girls, dressed in white, and carrying baskets of flowers; in a second row stood the young ladies, and immediately behind them the married ladies. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls strewed flowers before him, and sang the following ode:—

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow;
Aims at thee the fatal blow;
Virgins fair and matrons grave,
Those, thy conquering arms did save,
Build for thee triumphal bowers;
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your hero's way with flowers."

Hamilton's financial scheme.—The "Whiskey Insurrection."—Washington's cabinet.

head, were called *federalists*, and those who had opposed the adoption of that instrument were denominated *anti-federalists*. But amid all of these embarrassments and agitations, Washington calmly guided the helm of state with a firm hand, and called to his aid some of the ablest men of the country.*

The first session of Congress lasted about six months; and after the adjournment, Washington made a tour through the eastern states, and was everywhere greeted with the most cordial welcome.

At the second session of Congress, Hamilton presented his financial scheme, which established the course of the national policy, and governed the fiscal acts of several subsequent administrations. This scheme provided for the funding of the public debt; the assumption of state debts by the general government; for a system of revenue from duties on imports; and an internal excise. During that session an act was passed providing for the permanent seat of the national government at the District of Columbia. During the third session of this Congress,^{a to March, 1791.} a national bank was incorporated; a mint was established for the purpose of national coinage; and the newly-created states of Vermont and Kentucky were admitted into the Union. The public credit became established, and general prosperity marked the progress of the confederacy.

The second Congress met at Philadelphia, in 1791.^{b October.} During the first session, an act, laying a duty on domestic distilled spirits, produced considerable disturbance, and gave birth to lawless acts in the interior of Pennsylvania, called the "Whiskey Insurrection." Congress authorized the president to call out the militia, if necessary, to execute the laws; but Washington, unwilling to proceed to the adoption of this stringent measure, issued a proclamation, exhorting the insurgents to desist. But it failed to effect its purpose, and so formidable became the rebellion, that in August, 1794, a force of fifteen thousand men was called out, which soon quelled the insurrection, and the laws were enforced.

The second session of the second Congress^{c 1792-'93.} was chiefly marked by a division of sentiment in Washington's cabinet, which gave him much trouble—Hamilton and Knox advising strong federal measures, while Jefferson and Randolph opposed them. The party in Congress, coincident in views with the latter, were denominated *republicans* by Mr. Jefferson, and this became for a time their party.

* He selected for his cabinet, Thomas Jefferson, as secretary of state; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; Henry Knox, secretary of war; and Edmund Randolph, attorney-general. The office of secretary of the navy did not exist until the presidency of the elder Adams. The judiciary consisted of John Jay, chief justice of the supreme court; and John Rutledge, of South Carolina, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, William Cushing, of Massachusetts, Robert H. Harrison, of Maryland, and John Blair, of Virginia, associates.

Unanimously chosen president a second time.—Arrival and conduct of Citizen Genet.

name. Much sympathy was felt by the Americans for the revolutionists in France, then lifting the curtain of the terrible drama which immediately followed, and Jefferson and his party were in favor of extending aid to them, while Hamilton and others (among whom was the president) dissented from these views, and sought to maintain the United States in a position of neutrality, especially as Great Britain was then at war with France.

Notwithstanding the violence of party feeling, when the time for the second presidential election arrived, and Washington had yielded to the earnest solicitations of his friends, and became a candidate for re-election, he received the *unanimous vote* of the electoral college; a signal proof of the esteem and veneration of the people. On the 4th of March, 1793, he was again inaugurated president, at Philadelphia.

Citizen Genet, a minister appointed by the newly-created French republic, arrived early in April, and at once sought to involve the United States in a war with Great Britain. He actually issued "letters of marque," or their equivalent, to armed vessels sailing from American ports, to cruise against the vessels of every nation inimical to France. Washington and his cabinet united in the opinion that it was the soundest policy for America to keep aloof from European politics; and accordingly, on the 18th of April, the president issued a proclamation of neutrality. This act greatly offended Genet, and he threatened to appeal to the people. His conduct became so obnoxious, that the president demanded his recall, which demand was complied with, and M. Fauchet was appointed his successor.*

The first change made in Washington's cabinet was in December, 1793, when Jefferson, after making his admirable report on the commercial relations of the United States with foreign nations, resigned the office of secretary of state, and was succeeded by Edmund Randolph.† On the 4th of January, 1794, Mr. Madison offered a series of resolutions in conformity with the report of Mr. Jefferson; and these, together with important topics in the president's message, occupied Congress in angry debates until the middle of April. A large portion of the people were favorable to France, and insisted that all friendly to that nation should wear the national cockade of that people. The neglect of England to fulfil some of the stipulations of the treaty of 1783, produced a very hostile feeling toward that country, and these things combined caused an asperity of party feeling here that has never been surpassed.

* M. Genet subsequently married a daughter of Governor George Clinton, and spent the remainder of his life in the United States. He is said to have introduced "democratic societies" into this country, in imitation of the jacobin clubs in Paris, but they both were of short duration.

† William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, was appointed attorney-general, to fill the vacancy caused by the promotion of Mr. Randolph.

Sends a special envoy to Great Britain. — Foul slanders uttered against the president.

The president, deeming war with Great Britain inevitable, sent John Jay a special envoy thither, but the terms of a treaty which he made (the best he could effect) were so favorable to Great Britain, that party feeling here was rather heightened than allayed.* But the president was warmly sustained by his friends, and the excitement against the treaty gradually subsided — not, however, without an exhibition of much acrimony toward the president by a few of the leaders of the opposition in Congress. Calumnies of the blackest character were unblushingly uttered. He was charged with violating the constitution in negotiating a treaty without the previous advice of the senate, and that he had drawn from the treasury, for his own private use, more than the salary allowed by the constitution! These atrocious charges (particularly the latter) fell lifeless at the feet of the utterers, for amid all the violence of party feeling, the people never suspected the integrity of the chief magistrate.†

During the summer of 1794, General Wayne made a successful campaign against hostile Indians on the northwestern frontier. Treaties were concluded with them, and, in conformity with stipulations in Mr. Jay's treaty, the British gave up several forts in that region, and a permanent peace appeared in prospect.

During the remainder of Washington's administration, the acrimony of party spirit was kept up, the opposition having succeeded in electing a majority of the house of representatives for the fourth Congress, which convened in December, 1795. The administration had a majority in the senate; and the president, unmoved by the clamor of the opposition, and the calumnies put forth, went steadily on in the path of official duty, and at every step elevated his country in the scale of national greatness.

M. Fauchet, the French minister, was succeeded by M. Adet, who arrived in June, 1795, bringing with him the flag of the French republic,‡ which, together with a letter from the "Committee of Public Safety,"

* The treaty was signed in November, 1794, arrived in the United States on the 7th of March, 1795, and was ratified by the senate on the 24th of June following, by precisely the constitutional majority. Subsequently, a demand was made by the lower house upon the president, for copies of the papers connected with the treaty: but as that branch of the legislature had nothing to do with treaty-making, the president properly refused compliance. The opposition had a majority, and they raised a furious storm throughout the whole country; but when popular meetings were held, and the question fairly discussed, the views of the president were sustained.

† "When possessed of the entire fact," says Judge Marshall, "the public viewed with just indignation this attempt to defame a character which was the nation's pride. Americans felt themselves affected by this atrocious calumny on their most illustrious citizen, and its propagators were frowned into silence."

‡ Mr. Monroe, the United States minister to France, had previously presented the American colors to that government, and they were placed with those of France in the hall of the national convention.

Mr. Jay's treaty.—Washington's Farewell Address.—Election of Mr. Adams.

he delivered to the president on the 1st of January following. On the reception of the colors, Washington uttered a sentiment which ought to be dearly cherished by every philanthropist and freeman: "Born, sir," said he, "in a land of liberty; having early learned its value; having engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it; having, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my country—my anxious recollections, my sympathetic feelings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly attracted wheresoever, in any country, I see an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of freedom."

Mr. Jay's treaty with Great Britain, which was ratified by Congress in the previous year,^a was returned in February, 1796, ratified by the king of Great Britain; and the president immediately ^{a June 24.} issued a proclamation, enjoining all men to abide by its provisions. This proclamation, issued by the president before it was acted on by Congress, awakened the ire of the democratic opposition, and a strong debate ensued. The course of the president, however, was sustained.

The peculiar relations with France were a source of much anxiety to Washington. The remembrance of the old alliance, and the struggle for freedom in which the French people were involved, awakened his keenest sympathies; but his prudent wisdom saw clearly the necessity, if American liberty was to be preserved, of maintaining strict neutrality, and the soundness of his judgment was soon made manifest.*

After the adjournment of Congress in June,^b the thoughts ^{b 1796.} of the American people turned toward the third presidential election, and Washington was earnestly solicited to be a candidate.† He positively refused, and this intention was announced in his admirable "Farewell Address"—that noble political legacy which he left his countrymen. This address was received with the most profound respect throughout the country; and several of the state legislatures ordered it to be entered at length upon their journals, and all the others adopted resolutions expressive of their esteem and veneration for the person and character of the executive.

The contest for the presidency was between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson; and after a warm contest,‡ Mr. Adams was elected president, and Mr. Jefferson vice-president.

On the 7th of December, Washington met Congress for the last time;

* Washington became dissatisfied with the course of Mr. Monroe in France. The French were indignant because America had formed a treaty with Great Britain, and many spoiliations were made, and American property was confiscated. Mr. Monroe, it was thought, did not maintain the rights of his countrymen with sufficient vigor, and he was recalled.

† Unmistakeable indications that he would again receive the unanimous vote of the electoral college were manifest.

‡ While the election was pending, the French minister attempted to influence the result by publishing an attack upon the federal administration, charging it with violating solemn treaties with France. But his address produced no appreciable effect upon the election.

Washington retires to private life.—Is appointed commander-in-chief of the army.—His death.

and in his address he presented, in a clear and comprehensive manner, the position of the United States, actual and relative, and recommended several measures which he deemed important to the national welfare. On the 4th of March, 1797, his second administration closed; and after the inauguration of Mr. Adams, he proceeded to Mount Vernon, determined to pass the remainder of his days in retirement. He had taken the helm of government, when the vessel was amid the most dangerous rocks and shoals, and he resigned it to his successor upon a comparatively smooth sea and with fair winds. He went into the retirement of private life attended by the blessings of his countrymen, and the respect and veneration of mankind, wherever his deeds and virtues were known.

Crowds of friends and strangers flocked to Mount Vernon, and his coveted retirement was still remote. And he had hardly bid adieu to public life, ere the threatening belligerent attitude of France caused our government to bring its troops into the field for the defence of the country, and Washington was at once appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces, which he accepted, but with the expressed stipulation that he should not be called into active service, unless the most urgent necessity demanded it. Fortunately, that necessity never occurred.

Washington engaged again in agricultural pursuits with all the seeming vigor of his earlier years: and it was while riding about his estate, giving directions to his workmen, that he was exposed to a shower of rain that brought on his last illness. On the evening of the 13th of December, 1799, he was attacked with a severe inflammation of the throat, which terminated his life in less than thirty hours thereafter. He was sensible of his approaching dissolution, and spoke as freely of it as the nature of his disease would allow, expressing his perfect resignation to the will of his Maker. Between ten and eleven o'clock, on the evening of the 14th, he calmly expired, at the age of sixty-seven; and on Wednesday, the 18th, his body was deposited in the family tomb at Mount Vernon.

Grief pervaded the hearts of the people, and truly a nation mourned. Congress bestowed upon his memory all the honors it was capable of, and foreign governments testified their admiration of his character.* "Orators, divines, journalists, and writers of every class, responded to the general voice in all parts of the country, and employed their talents to solemnize the event, and to honor the memory of him who, more than any other man, of ancient or modern renown, may claim to be called **THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.**"

* Bonaparte, then first consul of France, issued the following order to his army on the 9th of February following: "WASHINGTON is dead! This great man fought against tyranny; he established the liberty of his country. His memory will always be dear to the French people, as it will be to all freemen of the two worlds; and especially to French soldiers, who, like him and the American soldiers, have combated for liberty and equality." He also ordered that for ten days, black crape should be suspended from all the standards throughout the republic.



JOHN ADAMS,

THE SECOND PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



HE immediate successor of Washington in the presidential chair was JOHN ADAMS, who was vice-president during the eight years' administration of the great chief. He was born on the 30th of October, 1735, in that portion of the town of Braintree, in Massachusetts, near Boston, afterward incorporated by the name of Quincy. He was the fourth in descent from Henry Adams, who, in 1630, fled from Devonshire, England, to escape the persecutions fostered by Archbishop Laud, the ecclesiastical adviser of Charles I. A maternal ancestor was one of the pilgrim fathers who came passenger in the May Flower.

Mr. Adams's primary education was received in his native town, and at the age of eighteen years^a he was admitted into Harvard university, at Cambridge, where in 1755 he graduated with the usual honors, although his collegiate course was not marked by any remarkable trait of character.

Having chosen the law as a profession, he was placed under the tuition of James Putnam, an eminent barrister in Worcester,* through whom he became acquainted with Jeremy Gridley, attorney-general of the province, and was allowed free access to his library, a rare opportunity for a young student at that time.† Through the influence of Mr. Gridley, he was admitted to practice in the courts of Suffolk county, and he soon became extensively and favorably known. He was admitted as a barrister in 1761, and as his acquaintance with public men increased, the early bias of his mind in contemplating political subjects developed itself in action. He began to pay much attention to the poli-

* According to the usage of the times, young Adams supported himself during his studies, by teaching a grammar-school.

† Mr. Gridley took him into his room, and, as if about to communicate some great secret to him, he pointed to the book-case and said, "There is the secret of my eminence, of which you may avail yourself, if you please."

Adams enters the political arena.—Member of the Massachusetts Assembly.—Member of Congress.

tics of the country, and was brought into general notice as a politician by the publication of an essay written by him, on crown and feudal law, which was a bold appeal to the people, then excited by the late passage of the stamp-act.* In 1764, he married Abigail, the highly-
 • 1763. accomplished and well-educated daughter of the Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, and grand-daughter of Colonel Quincy. He removed to Boston in 1766, where he became intimately associated with James Otis, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and others, in all their patriotic movements. So manifest were his talents and growing popularity, that the royal governor, Bernard, attempted to detach him from the patriots, and secure his services for the crown. He was offered the lucrative office of advocate-general in the court of admiralty. But viewing this offer as a covert attempt to woo him from his principles, he promptly rejected it, choosing rather to suffer governmental contumely.

Mr. Adams was chosen representative for Boston in the Massachusetts assembly in 1770, and it was during that year that the "Boston massacre" occurred. With a generosity well becoming a true patriot, he volunteered to act as counsel for Captain Preston (British) and his men, who fired upon the inhabitants. Captain Preston was acquitted; and so manifestly pure were the motives of Mr. Adams, that he lost no favor with the people.

In the legislature, Mr. Adams was foremost in opposing the measures of the royal governors, and wrote considerably for the American patriot newspapers.* He was elected a member of the Massachusetts council in 1774, but was rejected by Governor Gage.† During that summer he was elected a member of the *Continental Congress* which convened at Philadelphia in September, and he was one of the most active men in that body. He was re-elected the following year, and it was by his motion that the American army, then investing Boston, was adopted by Congress under the title of the "Continental Army." He advised the appointment of Washington to the chief command of the armies, and seconded the motion for that appointment; and the following year (1776) he stood side by side with Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and others, in boldly advocating a declaration of independence.‡ The measure was considered by Congress, and he was one of a committee

* He wrote a series of articles for the "Boston Gazette," in reply to some essays signed "Massachusitensis," written by Sewall, the attorney-general. His essays were entitled "Nov Anglus," and excited a good deal of attention, both at home and in England, being considered by the home-government dangerous to the transatlantic power of the British crown.

† It was in the first assembly under Governor Gage, of which Adams was a member, that the proposition for a general Congress was adopted, in spite of the governor's attempts to prevent such a treasonable act, as he deemed it.

‡ He introduced a resolution that "the colonies should form governments independent of the crown."

Appointed minister to the court of France.—Also to the court of Great Britain.

who reported a draft;* and he subsequently signed the glorious instrument.†

After the battle on Long Island, he was appointed by Congress, with Dr. Franklin and Edward Rutledge, to meet Lord Howe in conference upon Staten island, concerning the pacification of the colonies. The mission failed, according to his prediction. About this time he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts council, and was also appointed chief-justice of their highest courts. The latter honor he declined, preferring to devote his time and talents to the general welfare of the country, and no man in Congress labored as he labored.‡

In December, 1777, Mr. Adams was appointed to succeed Silas Deane as commissioner to the court of France; but finding that the immediate object of his mission had been accomplished by Dr. Franklin, who had been appointed minister plenipotentiary, he asked for and obtained his recall in 1779. Immediately after his return he was chosen a member of the Massachusetts convention for framing a constitution, and his draft (he being on a committee for the purpose) was adopted with very little alteration.

On the 29th of September, 1779, he received the appointment from Congress of minister plenipotentiary for negotiating a peace with Great Britain. He arrived in Paris in February, 1780, and in August he repaired to Amsterdam, where for two years he labored assiduously for his government.|| He negotiated a loan of eight millions of guilders (about

* The committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

† He wrote to a friend the following letter on the occasion:—

“PHILADELPHIA, July 5, 1776.

“SIR: Yesterday the greatest question was decided which was ever debated in America, and greater, perhaps, never was or will be decided among men. A resolution was passed, without a dissenting colony, THAT THESE UNITED STATES ARE, AND OF RIGHT OUGHT TO BE, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES.

“The day is passed. *The fourth of July, 1776, will be a memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as a great anniversary festival.* It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with *pomp, shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of the country to the other, from this time forward for evermore.* You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure, that it will cost to maintain this declaration, and support and defend these states: yet through all the gloom I can see the rays of light and glory—I can see that the end is worth more than all the means, and that posterity will triumph, though you and I may rue, which I hope we shall not.

“I am, &c.,

“JOHN ADAMS.”

‡ During the remainder of 1776 and 1777, he was a member of ninety different committees, and chairman of twenty-five.

|| As a proof of the unbounded confidence of Congress in him, credentials were sent him, constituting him minister plenipotentiary for making peace; for making a treaty of commerce with Great Britain; the same to the states-general of Holland; to the prince of Orange and stadtholder; for pledging the faith of the United States as a party to the armed neutrality and a commissioner to negotiate a loan of ten millions of dollars.

Appointed commissioner to European powers. — His first interview with the king of Great Britain.

three millions of dollars), and a treaty of amity and commerce with Holland. In 1781, he was associated with Franklin, Jay, Laurens, and Jefferson, as a commissioner to conclude treaties of peace with the European powers; and in 1783, he was engaged in negotiating a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and was the first of the American commissioners who signed the definitive treaty of peace with that power.*

* Sept. 3,
1783.

In 1784, Mr. Adams returned to France; and in January^b he was appointed minister for the United States at the court of Great Britain. He occupied that post with honor to himself and his country* until 1788, when, by his own request, his resignation was accepted, and he returned home. For his various and eminent services abroad, as well as at home, the acceptance of his resignation by Congress was coupled with expressions of thanks and profound regard.

^b 1785.

Mr. Adams sent to Mr. Jay an interesting account of his first interview with the king, from which we make the following extract. He was introduced to his majesty by the marquis of Carmarthen. He says:—

"I went with his lordship through the levee-room into the king's closet; the door was shut, and I was left with his majesty and the secretary of state alone. I made the three reverences—one at the door, another about half way, and the third before the presence—according to the usage established at this and all the northern courts of Europe, and then addressed myself to his majesty in the following words:—

"Sir, the United States have appointed me their minister plenipotentiary to your majesty, and have directed me to deliver to your majesty this letter, which contains the evidence of it. It is in obedience to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most friendly and liberal intercourse between your majesty's subjects and their citizens, and of their best wishes for your majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family. The appointment of a minister from the United States to your majesty's court will form an epoch in the history of England and America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow-citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your majesty's royal presence in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more to your majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence, and affection, or, in better words, "the old good-nature, and the old good-humor," between people who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood. I beg your majesty's permission to add, that although I have sometimes before been in-

* During his residence in England, he wrote an elaborate and able defence of the American constitutions.

Elected vice-president of the United States under Washington. — Elected president.

trusted by my country, it was never, in my whole life, in a manner so agreeable to myself.'

"The king listened to every word I said, with dignity, it is true, but with an apparent emotion. Whether it was the nature of the interview, or whether it was my visible agitation, for I felt more than I could express, that touched him, I can not say, but he was much affected, and answered me with more tremor than I had spoken with, and said:—

" 'Sir, the circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly adapted to the occasion, that I must say that I not only receive with pleasure the assurances of the friendly disposition of the people of the United States, but that I am very glad the choice has fallen upon you to be their minister. I wish you, sir, to believe, and that it may be understood in America, that I have done nothing in the late contest but what I thought myself indispensably bound to do, by the duty which I owed to my people. I will be very frank with you. I was the last to conform to the separation; but the separation having been made, and having become inevitable, I have always said, as I say now, that I would be the first to meet the friendship of the United States as an independent power. The moment I see such sentiments and language as yours prevail, and a disposition to give this country the preference, that moment I shall say, Let the circumstances of language, religion, and blood, have their natural and full effect. '

The constitution, which was adopted while he was absent, received his hearty approval; and he was put upon the ticket with Washington, as vice-president, and elected.^b In 1792, he was re-elected to the same office; and in 1796, he was elected to fill the presidential chair, about to be vacated by Washington. He was inaugurated president on the 4th of March, 1797. Mr. Jefferson, who was elected vice-president, although his political opponent, paid a just tribute to his worth, in his speech at his first meeting with the senate, and expressed a devout wish that he might "be long preserved for the government, happiness, and prosperity, of the country."

Mr. Adams's administration commenced at a time when the insane republic of France was threatening war with the United States because of its proclaimed neutrality respecting European affairs. But the firmness of the president was equal to the occasion; and having retained in office the cabinet left by Washington, he was fully sustained in his measures by his advisers.*

Our relations with France requiring prompt action, the president convened Congress in May, and found a decided federal majority in

* Secretary of state, Timothy Pickering; of the treasury, Oliver Wolcott; of war, James M'Henry; attorney-general, Charles Lee: all members of the federal party.

Takes strong measures against France.—Appoints three envoys to treat with France.

both branches of the legislature. Many of the democratic party, disgusted with the course of the French rulers, voted with the federalists. Resolutions of neutrality were adopted; the president was authorized to call out a force of eighteen thousand men to protect the republic; and a small navy was created.* A duty was laid on stamped paper for business purposes, and additional duties were laid upon some other articles for the purpose of revenue: but the very name of "stamp-act" was too odious to be popular, and it was soon repealed. During the summer, our ministers to France, Pinckney and Marshall, were expelled from that country because they would not listen to the terms of French negotiation for peace, which demanded money from the United States as the price thereof.†

The fifth Congress again met in November, 1797, and continued in session over eight months. They passed acts for maintaining neutrality; protecting the seacoast; fortifying seaports; for loaning money and levying a direct tax on real estate to meet the expenses of the anticipated war with France. A non-intercourse act was passed;‡ ^{a June, 1798.} merchant-ships were allowed to go armed to the West Indies; and an increase of the army was authorized. The president received addresses from all parts of the country, commending his firm course, and breathing the very spirit of patriotism.§ Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces; but it having been stipulated that he should not be called into active service, General Hamilton took the command of the army that was raised in 1798. The celebrated "alien and sedition laws"|| were passed during the session of 1798, and were very unpopular, because of the liability of abuse by the president. The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky declared them to be gross infractions of the constitution, and appealed to other states to join in opposition. At the second session thereafter, they were repealed.

Toward the close of 1798, the president had intimations that one or more envoys would be favorably received by France for the purpose of negotiating a peace. Without consulting his cabinet (in which divided counsels had lately appeared), he nominated to the senate Mr. Murray,

* Benjamin Stoddert, of Maryland, was appointed secretary of the navy in 1798.

† It was on this occasion that Mr. Pinckney uttered the sentiment that met a hearty response throughout the Union: "Millions for defence, but not one cent for tribute." During the session of that year, Congress appropriated a million of dollars for the construction of ships.

‡ It was at this time that Robert Treat Paine wrote the celebrated song, "Adams and Liberty."

§ The former authorized the president to expel from the United States any foreigner who should be found or supposed to be conspiring against the peace or authority of the republic. The latter put restrictions upon the liberty of the press in the power of the president. To this dangerous measure the opposition specially objected, because, of the two hundred newspapers then published in the United States, about one hundred and seventy-five were supporters of the federal administration.

Envoys sent to France.—Mr. Jefferson elected president.

Oliver Ellsworth, and Patrick Henry, as envoys, and the nomination was confirmed.^b This act offended his cabinet, and the breach was never healed. Hamilton and others highly disapproved of his course, deeming it to be the duty of France to take the first positive step toward a reconciliation. Mr. Henry declined the service, and William R. Davis, of North Carolina, was substituted. They sailed for France in November, 1799, and on their arrival, they found Napoleon Bonaparte created first consul. He at once appointed three commissioners; and in October, 1800, a treaty of peace was ratified by the French government. It was conditionally confirmed by the president and senate before the close of Mr. Adams's term. Two articles having been left open for alteration, they were settled after the commencement of Mr. Jefferson's administration. They related to indemnification for depredations upon our commerce.

^b Feb.,
1799.

On the assembling of the sixth Congress in December, 1799, there was a decided federal majority in both houses, and Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, was elected speaker of the house of representatives. On the 18th of the month, Mr. Marshall, of Virginia, announced to Congress the intelligence of the death of Washington. Both houses adjourned; their respective halls were dressed in mourning, and every demonstration of respect and grief was shown. During this session, acts prohibiting the slave-trade were passed; also for laying additional duties on various articles; and the northwest territory (now Ohio and Indiana) was admitted into the Union.*

As the time approached for another presidential election, party spirit ran high. The federalists nominated for president and vice-president, Mr. Adams and General Charles C. Pinckney; and the democrats nominated Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Owing to various causes, Mr. Adams had lost some of his firmest supporters, and Hamilton published a pamphlet against the course of conduct pursued by Mr. Adams during his administration. The final result was, that Jefferson and Burr were elected. Between the time of the decision of the electoral college and the 4th of March, Mr. Adams appointed all the judges of the new courts, and their commissions were issued; but the repeal of the law early in the administration of Mr. Jefferson, deprived them of their offices.† On the 4th of March, 1801, the administration of Mr. Adams closed, and Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated at the newly-erected capitol in Washington city.

The course pursued toward France by Mr. Adams met with general approval, until he began to adopt what was termed humiliating meas-

* Wm. H. Harrison (the late president) took his seat as the first delegate from that territory.

† They were called "the midnight judges of John Adams," because of the hour when the law under which they were created was adopted.

Mr. Adams retires to private life. — His death. — His person and character.

ures for conciliating that government. These, together with the abrupt dismissal of two members of his cabinet near the close of his administration, made him quite unpopular; and he had the misfortune to leave the presidential chair unsupported by the confidence of his own political party. He was an honest man, and strongly confident in his own judgment. He therefore acted in accordance with that judgment, careless of the opinions of others. It was this trait of character that lost him his popularity when his official position allowed him a large scope for the exercise of his will.

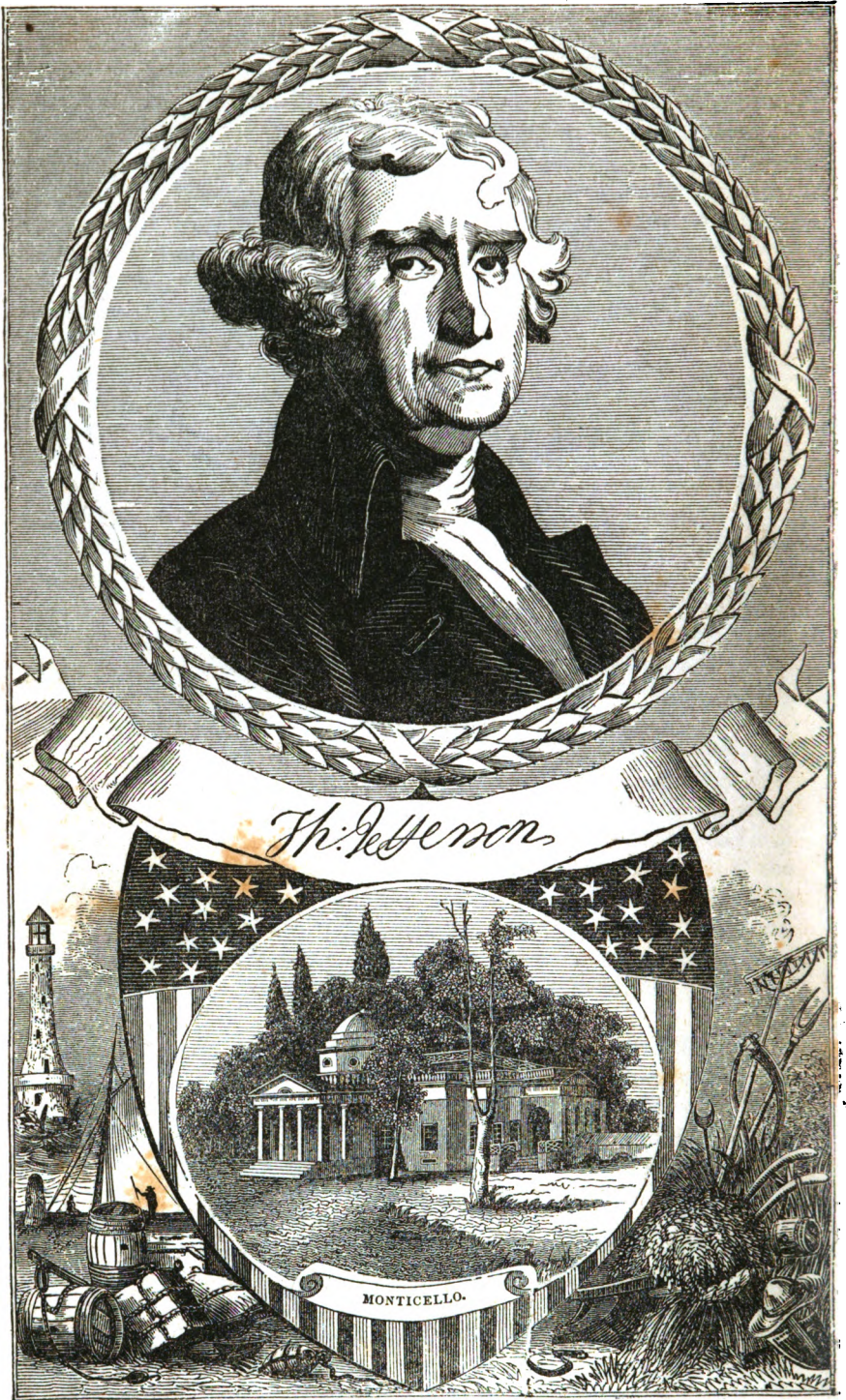
In 1801, he retired to his estate in Quincy, and never again appeared actively in the political field, but gave his support generally to the democratic party. He was favorable to the measure declaring war against Great Britain in 1812, and he had the gratification of seeing his son at the head of a commission to treat for peace with the same nation that, thirty-two years before, he had treated with.

In 1816, he was placed by the democrats of Massachusetts at the head of their list of presidential electors. In 1818, he lost his wife by death, with whom he had lived fifty-two years.* In 1824, he was chosen a member of the state convention of Massachusetts to revise the constitution, and was elected president. He declined the honor on account of his age. In 1825, he had the rare pleasure of seeing his son elevated to the office of president of the United States.

Mr. Adams had now entered upon the last decade of a century, and his long life had been one of arduous toils and spotless purity of character. His last years were years of serene tranquillity; and as the semi-centennial anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence approached, his hour of dissolution drew nigh. On the morning of the 4th of July, 1826, being asked for a toast for the day, the last words he ever uttered — words of glorious import — fell from his lips: "*Independence for ever.*" About one o'clock in the afternoon he calmly expired, and nearly at the same hour the soul of Thomas Jefferson, his compatriot and friend, accompanied his to the spirit-land.

In person, Mr. Adams was of middle stature, and rather inclined to be fleshy. He possessed an exceedingly intelligent countenance, and moral courage of the truest stamp ever marked it. In speaking, he was slow and deliberate, except when excited, and then he manifested great energy. He was a pure moralist and consistent Christian; and he left behind him a name to be coveted by the wise and good.

* She is represented as a woman of remarkable intelligence, and exceedingly amiable. She heartily espoused the cause of independence, and made willing personal sacrifices for her country's good. In a letter to a friend in London, written in 1777, she remarked: "To this cause I have sacrificed much of my own personal happiness, by giving up to the councils of America one of my nearest connexions, and living for more than three years in a state of widowhood."



THOMAS JEFFERSON,

THE THIRD PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



AMERICAN history presents few names to its students more attractive and distinguished than that of THOMAS JEFFERSON, and rarely has a single individual, in civil station, acquired such an ascendancy over the feelings and actions of a people, as was possessed by the subject of this brief memoir. To trace the lines of his character and career is a pleasing task for every American whose mind is fixed upon the political destiny of his country, and we regret the narrow limits to which our pen is confined.

Mr. Jefferson's family were among the early British emigrants to Virginia. His ancestors came from Wales, from near the great Snowdon mountain. His grandfather settled in Chesterfield, and had three sons, Thomas, Field, and Peter. The latter married Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph, of Goochland, of Scotch descent; and on the 13th of April, 1743, she became the mother of the subject of this sketch. They resided at that time at Shadwell, in Albemarle county, Virginia. Thomas was the eldest child. His father died when he was fourteen years old, leaving a widow and eight children, two sons and six daughters. He left a handsome estate to his family; and the lands, which he called Monticello, fell to Thomas, where the latter always resided when not engaged in public duty, and where he lived at the time of his death.

Thomas entered a grammar-school at the age of five years, and when nine years old he commenced the study of the classics with a Scotch clergyman named Douglas. On the death of his father, the Rev. Mr. Maury became his preceptor; and in the spring of 1760, he entered William and Mary college, where he remained two years. From Dr. William Small, a professor of mathematics in the college, he received his first philosophical teachings, and the bias of his mind concerning subjects of philosophical investigation seem to have received its initial impetus from that gentleman. Through his influence, in 1762, young

Jefferson's intellectual character. — His marriage. — His political pamphlet.

Jefferson was admitted as a student-at-law in the office of George Wythe, the intimate friend of Governor Fauquier, at whose table our subject became a welcome guest.

"Mr. Jefferson," said Wirt, in his eulogy on Adams and Jefferson, "by birth, belonged to the aristocracy: but the idle and voluptuous life which marked that order had no charms for a mind like his. He relished better the strong, unsophisticated, and racy character of the yeomanry, and attached himself, of choice, to that body. He was a republican and a philanthropist, from the earliest dawn of his character. He read with a sort of poetic illusion which identified him with every scene which his author spread before him. Enraptured with the brighter ages of republican Greece and Rome, he had followed with an aching heart the march of history, which had told him of the desolation of those fairest portions of the earth; and had read, with dismay and indignation, of that swarm of monarchies, the progeny of the Scandinavian hive, under which genius and liberty were now everywhere crushed. He loved his own country with a passion not less intense, deep, and holy, than that of his great compatriot, John Adams; and with this love he combined an expanded philanthropy which encircled the globe. From the working of the strong energies within him, there arose an early vision, too, which cheered his youth and accompanied him through life—the vision of emancipated man throughout the world."

In 1765, while yet a student, Jefferson heard the celebrated speech of Patrick Henry against the stamp-act; and fired by its doctrines, he at once stood forth the avowed champion of American freedom. So manifest were his talents, that in 1769 he was elected a member of the Virginia legislature, and became at once active and popular there.* He filled that station until the period of the Revolution, when he was called to the performance of more exalted duties in the national council.

He was married in January, 1772, to Mrs. Martha Skelton, a wealthy widow of twenty-three, who was the daughter of John Wayles, an eminent Virginia lawyer.

When the system of committees of correspondence was established in 1773, Mr. Jefferson was a member of the first committee in Virginia, and was very active with his pen. In 1774, his powerfully-written pamphlet was published, called "A Summary View of the Rights of British America." It was addressed to the king, and was published in England under the auspices of Edmund Burke.†

* He made strong but unsuccessful efforts in the Virginia assembly for the emancipation of the slaves.

† This pamphlet gave great offence to Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, who threatened to prosecute him for high-treason. And because his associates in the Virginia assembly sustained Jefferson, Dunmore dissolved it. They assembled in a private capacity, and drew up a remonstrance, which had a powerful effect upon the people. The governor perceived that his acts were futile, and he allowed the matter to rest.

Draughts the Declaration of Independence. — Appointed to revise the laws of Virginia.

He was elected a delegate to represent Virginia in the continental Congress of 1775, and for several years he was one of the most efficient members of that body. He soon became distinguished among the men of talents there, although comparatively young; and when, in the succeeding year, a committee was appointed to draught a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, he was chosen one of the members. Although the youngest member of the committee, he was requested by the others to draw up the instrument, which he did, and his draught was adopted, with a very few verbal amendments, on the 4th of July, 1776. This instrument forms an everlasting monument to his memory, and gives by far a wider range to the fame of his talents and patriotism than eloquent panegyric or sculptured epitaph.

During the summer of 1776, he was elected to a seat in the Virginia assembly, and, desirous of serving his own state, he resigned his seat in Congress, and returned to Virginia. He was soon after appointed a joint-commissioner with Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane, for negotiating treaties with France, but circumstances caused him to decline the acceptance of the proffered honor, and he continued in Virginia during the remaining period of the Revolution, actively engaged in the service of his state. He received a third election to Congress, but declined it, and was succeeded by Benjamin Harrison, the father of the late president.

From the early part of 1777 to the middle of 1779, Mr. Jefferson was assiduously employed, conjointly with George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton, on a commission for revising the laws of Virginia. The duty was a most arduous one: and to Mr. Jefferson belongs the imperishable honor of being the first to propose, in the legislature of Virginia, the laws forbidding the importation of slaves; converting estates tail* into fee simple; annulling the rights of primogeniture;† establishing schools for general education; and confirming the rights of freedom in religious opinion.

Congress having resolved not to suffer the prisoners captured at Saratoga, under Burgoyne, to leave the United States until the convention entered into by Gates and Burgoyne should be ratified by the British government, they were divided and sent to the different states, to be provided for during the interval. A division of them was sent, early in 1779, into the interior of Virginia, near the residence of Mr. Jefferson,

* A law entitled *fee tail* was adopted in the time of Edward I. of England, and at the time in question extended to all the English colonies. It restrained the alienation of lands and tenements by one to whom they had been given, with a limitation to a particular class of heirs. A *fee-simple* estate is one in which the owner has absolute power to dispose of it as he pleases; and if in his possession when he dies, it descends to his heirs-general.

† This right belonged to the eldest son, who succeeded to the estate of his ancestor, to the exclusion of his brothers and sisters. This is still the law in England.

Elected governor of Virginia. — Attempt of the British to capture him. — Elected again to Congress.

and his benevolent feelings were strongly exhibited by his sympathy for these enemies of his country. The prisoners were in great distress, and Mr. Jefferson and his friends did all in their power to alleviate their sufferings. An apprehended scarcity of provisions determined Governor Patrick Henry to remove them to another part of the state, or out of it entirely. At this the officers and men were greatly distressed, and Mr. Jefferson wrote a touching appeal to the governor in their behalf, and they were allowed to remain.*

In June, 1779, Mr. Jefferson succeeded Mr. Henry as governor of Virginia, and the close of his administration was a period of great difficulty and danger. His state became the theatre of predatory warfare, the infamous Arnold having entered it with British and tory troops, and commenced spreading desolation with fire and sword along the James river. Richmond, the capital, was partly destroyed, and Jefferson and his council narrowly escaped capture. He tried, but in vain, to get possession of the person of Arnold, but the wily traitor was too cautious for him.

Very soon after his retirement to private life, Tarleton, who attempted to capture the members of the legislature convened at Charlottesville, a short distance from Jefferson's residence, came very near taking him prisoner. Jefferson had sent his family away in his carriage, and remained to attend to some matters in his dwelling, when he saw the cavalry ascending a hill toward his house. He mounted a fleet horse, dashed through the woods, and reached his family in safety.

M. de Marbois, secretary of the French legation in the United States, having questioned Mr. Jefferson respecting the resources, &c., of his native state, he wrote in 1781 his celebrated work entitled "Notes on Virginia." The great amount of information which it contains, and the simple perspicuity of its style, made its author exceedingly popular in Europe as a writer and man of science, in addition to his character as a statesman.

In 1782, he was appointed a minister plenipotentiary to assist others in negotiating a treaty of peace with Great Britain; but information of the preliminaries having been signed, reached Congress before his departure, and he did not go. He was soon after elected a delegate to Congress, and was chairman of the committee, in 1783, to whom the treaty with Great Britain was referred. On their report, the treaty was unanimously ratified.

* The officers and soldiers were very grateful to Mr. Jefferson, and when they were about to depart for England, the officers united in a letter of thanks to him. Mr. Jefferson, in reply, disclaimed the performance of any great service to them, and said: "Opposed as we happen to be in our sentiments of duty and honor, and anxious for contrary events, I shall, nevertheless, sincerely rejoice in every circumstance of happiness and safety which may attend you personally."

Sent as minister to France.—Appointed secretary of state.—Elected president of the United States.

In 1784, he wrote an essay on coinage and currency for the United States, and to him we are indebted for the convenient denominations of our federal currency, the dollar as a unit, and the system of decimals.

In May of this year, he was appointed, with Adams and Franklin, a minister to negotiate treaties of commerce with foreign nations. In company with his eldest daughter, he reached Paris in August. Dr. Franklin having obtained leave to return home, Mr. Jefferson was appointed to succeed him as minister at the French court, and he remained in France until October, 1789. While there, he became popular among the literati, and his society was courted by the leading writers of the day.

During his absence the constitution had been formed, and under it Washington had been elected and inaugurated president of the United States. His visit home was under leave of absence, but Washington offered him a seat in his cabinet as secretary of state, and gave him his choice to remain in that capacity or return to France. He chose to remain, and he was one of the most efficient aids to the president during the stormy period of his first administration. He differed in opinion with Washington respecting the kindling revolution in France, but he agreed with him on the question of the neutrality of the United States. His bold avowal of democratic sentiments, and his expressed sympathies with the struggling populace of France in their aspirations for republicanism, made him the leader of the democratic party here, opposed to the federal administration of Washington,* and in 1793 he resigned his seat in the cabinet.

In 1796, he was the republican candidate for president, in opposition to John Adams. Mr. Adams succeeded, and Mr. Jefferson was elected vice-president.† In 1800, he was again nominated for president, and received a majority of votes over Mr. Adams. Aaron Burr was on the ticket with him, and received an equal number of votes; but on the thirty-sixth balloting, two of Burr's friends withdrew, and Mr. Jefferson was elected.

Mr. Jefferson was inaugurated at Washington on the 4th of March, 1801, and chose his cabinet from among his political friends.‡ It was

* In 1791, Washington asked his opinion respecting a national bank, a bill for which had been passed by Congress and approved by Washington. He gave his opinion in writing, and strongly objected to the measure, as being unconstitutional.

† At that time, the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes to the one elected president, was vice-president. The constitution on that point has since been altered. During the time he was vice-president, he wrote a manual for the senate, which is still the standard of parliamentary rule in Congress and other bodies.

‡ James Madison was chosen secretary of state; Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, secretary of war; and Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts, attorney-general. Mr. Adams's secretaries of the treasury and the navy were continued in office a short time. Before the meeting of

confidently expected by the federalists that he would cause a general removal from office of all opposed to his political views, but in this, to a great extent, they were disappointed. His *appointments* were from his own party ranks, but his *removals* were very few: and he announced his intention, as soon as the alleged abuses in this respect of the former administration should be corrected, to make the test-questions for office, "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?" He was severely censured for his course in withholding some commissions issued by Mr. Adams, but he was sustained in his views by the supreme court. The film of party prejudice was too impervious for his political opponents to perceive honest motives or correct actions in him; and even now that film exists, and it is difficult to judge fairly of the orthodoxy of his views on questions of national policy. It is left for the experience of another generation to form a correct judgment.

The seventh Congress assembled in December, 1801, and the political parties were nearly equally divided, although the democrats were in the majority in both houses. Instead of delivering his communication to Congress in person, as usual, Mr. Jefferson transmitted a message in writing, which course has been ever since pursued as the most convenient and also most republican in its character. During the session, the law establishing circuit courts was repealed, and several judges appointed by Mr. Adams were deprived of office. An act was also passed for apportioning representatives by the census of 1800, the ratio being one representative for thirty-three thousand inhabitants; for fixing the military peace establishment, which provided for a military academy at West Point, on the Hudson river; for regulating trade with the Indian tribes; for discontinuing duties on articles of domestic manufacture; for establishing a uniform system of naturalization;* for redeeming the public debt by an annual appropriation of seven millions and three hundred thousand dollars to the sinking-fund; and for the formation of a portion of the northwest territory into a state. The state was admitted into the Union soon after, and called Ohio. Various suggestions of the president in relation to the curtailment of the public expenses were concurred in.

During the second session (1802-'3), very few important acts were passed, except one concerning the prohibition of the importation of slaves under certain circumstances; and another authorizing the executive to call upon the several states for troops when necessary.†

Congress in December, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, was appointed secretary of the treasury, and Robert Smith, of Maryland, secretary of the navy.

* In 1798, a law was passed making the time of residence for an alien, before he could be naturalized, fourteen years. The act in question made it five years.

† This act was passed in consequence of some apprehensions of war with Spain, growing out of disputes concerning the southwestern boundary-line of the United States. Louisiana

Purchase of Louisiana. — Constitution amended. — Exploring expedition of Lewis and Clarke.

Having received information of the cession of Louisiana to France, the president communicated with Mr. Livingston, then minister to France, and instructed him to open negotiations for the purchase of the island of New Orleans and the Floridas.* Mr. Monroe was appointed in January, 1803, minister plenipotentiary to France, to act with Mr. Livingston, and an appropriation of two millions of dollars was made for the purpose of purchase. Napoleon, who was first consul, had appointed the marquis de Marbois to confer with American ministers; and the next day after Monroe's arrival, the conference was opened. To the astonishment of the Americans, the French minister offered to cede all Louisiana, and upon this basis they proceeded. Messrs. Livingston and Monroe had no authority to enter into such extensive negotiations, but there was no time to be lost, for France and England were arming against each other. A treaty was finally concluded,^a by which the United States agreed to pay fifteen millions of dollars for ^{a April 30, 1803.} the vast territory of Louisiana,[†] four millions of which France allowed to go toward the payment of indemnities for spoliation during peace. The treaty was equally satisfactory to both governments.[‡] It was ratified by Bonaparte on the 22d of May, 1803, and by the United States on the 20th of October following, a special session of Congress having been called for the purpose of taking measures to put the treaty into execution.

During the session of 1803-'4, an amendment to the constitution was proposed relative to the election of president and vice-president, so as to designate which person was voted for, for the respective offices. It was carried, and ratified by the state legislatures.

In 1804,^b an expedition for exploring the continent, from the Mississippi to the Pacific (for which, at the suggestion of the president, an appropriation had been made), left the "Father of Waters," under the direction of Captains Lewis and Clarke. They were absent two years, and were eminently successful. ^{b May 14.}

During this year another presidential election occurred. The republicans nominated Mr. Jefferson and George Clinton, of New York; and

was ceded to France by Spain in 1802, and the Spanish intendant at New Orleans declared that the privilege given to the people of the United States, to make that city a place of deposit for merchandise, was ended.

* The president erroneously supposed that the Floridas would also be ceded to France.

† Its extent exceeded a million of square miles, and contained about eighty-five thousand inhabitants, including forty thousand slaves.

‡ When the articles were signed, the negotiators cordially shook hands, and Mr. Livingston said: "From this day, the United States take their place among the powers of the first rank; the English lose all exclusive influence in the affairs of America." And Napoleon afterward remarked to Marbois: "This accession of territory strengthens for ever the power of the United States; and I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride!"

Re-elected president. — Non-importation act. — Burr's alleged conspiracy.

the federalists placed upon their ticket Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, and Rufus King, of New York. The republican candidates received an overwhelming majority—one hundred and sixty-two against fourteen. Previous to the close of Mr. Jefferson's first administration, the war which had occurred with Tripoli was brought to a close.

In 1803, the president had recommended the construction of gun-boats for the protection of our harbors: and in 1805, an appropriation of sixty thousand dollars enabled him to try the experiment of this cheap marine. But the system was very unpopular with the officers of the navy, and greatly opposed by the federalists. A large portion of the boats were driven ashore by a tempest; yet for three or four years they were kept in service.

The ninth Congress assembled on the 2d of December, 1805. Difficulties with Spain still existing, it was proposed to give the president authority to call out troops for the defence of the southern frontier, as it was supposed that Spain would make aggressions from her Florida possessions. The proposition was not acceded to, and two millions of dollars were appropriated to purchase Florida. General John Armstrong, of New York, and Mr. Bowdoin, of Massachusetts, were appointed commissioners to negotiate with Spain, at Paris. The negotiation proved unsuccessful.

The interruptions to our commerce and the impressment of our seamen by the British navy, caused Congress to pass an act against the importation of certain British manufactures; and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars were appropriated for fortifying the ports and harbors of the United States.

During the year 1806, Colonel Burr's mysterious expedition in the valley of the Mississippi caused great excitement in the public mind, it being believed by many that the object of his extensive military arrangements was to dis sever the Union, and establish an independent government west of the Alleghanies. In 1807, he was arrested on charges having these suspicions for a basis; and he was taken to Richmond, Virginia, where, in June, he was tried for high-treason before Chief-Justice Marshall. His trial lasted till August, when he was acquitted. The evidence seemed to show that his expedition was intended to be against the Spanish provinces of Mexico.

In December, amicable negotiations having been entered into with Great Britain, the non-importation act was suspended for one year. A treaty was concluded, but it was so unsatisfactory—nothing having been stipulated in it respecting impressments—that the president rejected it, the senate not then being in session. This act caused great excitement, especially in commercial circles.

Effects of the Berlin and Milan decrees. — Jefferson retires from public life.

Napoleon's *Berlin decree*, of November 21, 1806; the British *orders in council*, November 11, 1807; and Napoleon's *Milan decree*, of December 17, 1807 — all operated powerfully against American commerce, and nearly destroyed it, as all our vessels were liable to seizure, under these decrees and orders, if approaching the European coast. On the 18th of December, the president recommended an embargo upon American vessels, which recommendation was considered by Congress, and an act in accordance was passed.* This measure produced a great deal of dissatisfaction and commercial distress, but Congress fully sustained the president.

During the excitement produced by the embargo, in 1808, another presidential election came on. James Madison, of Virginia, was nominated for president, and George Clinton for vice-president, by the republicans; the federalists again nominated Pinckney and King. Mr. Madison was elected by a large majority — one hundred and twenty-two to forty-seven.

So seriously oppressive became the embargo, that the leading federalists of the New-England states meditated a withdrawal of those states from the Union, unless the act was repealed. That fact, it is said, was disclosed to Mr. Jefferson by John Quincy Adams early in 1809. This new danger seemed paramount to all others; and to preserve the Union intact, the embargo-act was so far repealed as to apply only to Great Britain and France.

On the 3d of March, 1809, the administration of Mr. Jefferson closed, and immediately after the inauguration of Mr. Madison he retired to Monticello. During his administration he had accomplished much for the future prosperity of the country; but at the moment of his leaving the executive chair, events wore a gloomy aspect.

Mr. Jefferson never again engaged in public life, but spent the remaining seventeen years in the sweet retirement of Monticello, where, says Mr. Webster, "he lived as became a wise man." He employed his time in philosophical pursuits and the management of his farm. Through his instrumentality, a university was founded† at Charlottesville, near Monticello, of which he was rector until his death, and a liberal patron as far as his means would allow.‡

* This act prohibited all American vessels from sailing for foreign ports; all foreign vessels from taking out cargoes; and all coasting-vessels were required to give bonds to land their cargoes in the United States. These restrictive measures were intended to so affect the commerce of Great Britain, as to bring that government to a fair treaty of amity and commerce.

† Called the University of Virginia. It was founded in 1818.

‡ Toward the close of his life his pecuniary affairs became embarrassed, and he was obliged to sell his library, which Congress purchased for thirty thousand dollars. A short time previous to his death he received permission from the legislature of Virginia to dispose of his estate by lottery, to prevent its being sacrificed to pay his debts. He did not live to see it consummated.

In the spring of 1826, his bodily infirmities greatly increased, and in June he was confined wholly to his bed. About the first of July he seemed free from disease, and his friends had hopes of his recovery; but it was his own conviction that he should die, and he gave directions accordingly. On the 3d, he inquired the day of the month. On being told, he expressed an ardent desire to live until the next day, to breathe the air of the fiftieth anniversary of his country's independence. His wish was granted: and on the morning of the 4th, after having expressed his gratitude to his friends and servants for their care, he said with a distinct voice, "I resign myself to my God, and my child to my country."* These were his last words, and about noon on that glorious day he expired. It was a most remarkable coincidence that two of the committee (Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson) who drew up the Declaration of Independence; who signed it; who successively held the office of chief magistrate, should have died at nearly the same hour on the fiftieth anniversary of that solemn act.

Mr. Jefferson was a little over eighty-three years of age at the time of his death. In person, he was six feet two inches in height, erect, but quite thin.† His complexion was fair, eyes light, and brilliant with intelligence, and his hair, originally red, became silvery white in old age. His manner was simple but dignified, and his conversational powers were of the rarest value. He was exceedingly kind and benevolent, an indulgent master to his servants, and liberal and friendly to his neighbors. He possessed remarkable equanimity of temper, and it is said he was never seen in a passion.‡ His friendship was lasting and ardent, and he was confiding and never distrustful.

In religion, he was a freethinker; in morals, pure and unspotted; in politics, patriotic, honest, ardent, and benevolent. Respecting his political character, there was (and still is) a great diversity of opinion, and we are not yet far enough removed from the theatre of his acts to judge of them dispassionately and justly. His life was devoted to his country: the result of his acts, whatever it may be, is a legacy to mankind.

* Mrs. Randolph, whom he tenderly loved. Just before he died, he handed her a morocco case, with a request that she should not open it until after his decease. It contained a poetical tribute to her virtues, and an epitaph for his tomb, if any should be placed upon it. He wished his monument to be a small granite obelisk, with this inscription:—

"Here was buried
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
Author of the Declaration of Independence,
Of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom,
And Father of the University of Virginia."

† During his presidency, Humboldt, the celebrated traveller, once visiting him, discovered in a newspaper upon his table a vile and slanderous attack upon his character. "Why do you not hang the man?" asked Humboldt. "Put the paper in your pocket," said Jefferson, with a smile, "and, on your return to your country, if any one doubts the freedom of our press, show it to him, and tell him where you found it."



JAMES MADISON,

THE FOURTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



JAMES MADISON, of Virginia, was the immediate successor of Mr. Jefferson in the presidency. He was born at the dwelling of his grandmother, opposite to Port Royal, on the Rappahannock river, in Orange county, Virginia, on the 16th of March, 1751. His family were of Welsh origin, and were among the earlier and the most respected emigrants to Virginia. His rudimental education was received in a small grammar-school in his native town, and at the age of fourteen he was put under the care of Mr. Robertson, a native of Scotland; and subsequently of the Rev. Mr. Martin, of New Jersey, for the purpose of studying the classics and being fitted for college. At the age of seventeen years he entered Princeton college, of New Jersey, where he graduated with the usual honors in 1771. Under the superintendence of Dr. Witherspoon, the president, he remained at the college a year after he graduated, and applied himself so intensely to study, as to impair his constitution, and he was feeble for years.

After leaving college, he returned to Virginia, and commenced the practice of law; but, his talents being appreciated, and the exigencies of the times calling for efficient aid from whatsoever source it might be obtained, he was soon drawn into active public life. He was elected a member of the general assembly of Virginia in 1776, and in 1778 was appointed one of the executive council of that state. In 1779, he was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress, and was an active member of that body until 1784.

In 1786,^a the Virginia legislature appointed him a commissioner to meet with those of other states at Annapolis, to amend the Articles of Confederation, and to devise a uniform commercial system. The convention was attended by very few representatives, but they recommended the calling of another convention at Philadelphia, the

^a January.

His labors for a new constitution. — Is elected a member of Congress. — His activity and wisdom.

year following, to which Mr. Madison was elected. The convention assembled in May, and Mr. Madison was among the leading debaters. He labored assiduously in the formation of a constitution for the government of the country that should be acceptable; and the one that was finally adopted bears the strong and frequent impress of his mind and pen.* His views were coincident with those of Washington and others who were favorable to a *strong* federal government; and after the adoption of the constitution,^a he wielded the pen effectively in the numbers of the "Federalist," in connexion with Jay, Hamilton, and others, in its defence. He took copious notes of all the proceedings of the convention, which, with those of his other valuable productions, have been published since his death, under the title of "The Madison Papers."

^a Sept.
1787.

Mr. Madison was elected a member of the Virginia convention to whom the new constitution was submitted for consideration,† and he there met in opposition some of the boldest thinkers of his native state, including Patrick Henry, James Monroe, William Grayson, George Mason (an intimate friend of Washington), and others; but he had the gratification of seeing the question finally carried in favor of adoption by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine.

The majority of the members of the Virginia legislature being anti-federalists, or opposed to the constitution, Mr. Madison was an unsuccessful candidate for a seat in the senate of the United States. He was, however, elected a representative for a congressional district, and took his seat at New York, in 1789. He was an active member of that body

* In a letter to Washington, written just previously to the assembling of the convention, Mr. Madison gave an outline of his views on the subject of which the following is a brief synopsis of the main points: The maintenance of the individual sovereignty of the states, all amenable to the general control of a federal government; a change in the principle of representation; the general government to have absolute control in the regulation of trade, laying imposts, fixing terms of naturalization, coining money, &c., &c.; the federal government to possess a veto-power in all cases whatsoever on the legislative acts of the states; to have general powers over the judiciary, causing the oaths of judges to include a promise of fidelity to the general government; the admiralty jurisdictions to fall entirely within the purview of the national government; the establishment of a national tribunal for appeals in all cases, to which foreigners or inhabitants of other states may be parties; the officers in the executive departments to be appointed by Congress; the militia to be placed under the authority of the general government; the national legislature to be divided into two branches, one of them to be chosen at short intervals by the people at large or by the legislatures of the states, the other to consist of fewer members, to be chosen for a longer term, and to possess the exercise of the veto-power before alluded to; the appointment of a further check — a council of revision — including all the great ministerial officers; the provision of a national executive; provision made for guarantying the tranquillity of the states against internal and external dangers; and the ratification of the proposed constitution by the collective voice of the people, and not by legislative action in the respective states.

These views were remarkably sound, if his theory of a strong government was a correct one; and they formed to a great extent the basis of the constitution adopted by the convention.

† Conventions for this purpose were called in all the states.

His marriage.—Appointed secretary of state.—Elected president of the United States.

during the whole of Washington's administration. Upon the subject of the funding system, a national bank, and other leading measures, originating with Hamilton, he was found in opposition to his federal friends, and generally sustained the views of Mr. Jefferson, then secretary of state. In 1794, he introduced a series of resolutions, based upon Jefferson's recommendations, concerning the commercial policy of the government, which, being considered favorable to France and offensive to Great Britain, awakened a warm debate. During that year, he was married to Mrs. Dolly Paine Todd,* a young widow, twenty-three years of age, whose first husband died in less than three years after marriage. This marriage proved highly beneficial to Mr. Madison, for the strong mind and pleasing manners of his wife were essential aids to him while he was the chief magistrate of the nation.

Mr. Madison continued to act with the republican or democratic party, and in the Virginia assembly (to which he was elected, having resigned his seat in Congress), in 1797, he made a report against the "alien and sedition laws" of Mr. Adams, which report, it is said, has ever since been the text for the doctrine of state-rights in that state.

When, in 1801, Mr. Jefferson was elected president, he appointed Mr. Madison secretary of state, which office he held during Mr. Jefferson's administration of eight years' duration. He became the democratic candidate for president in 1808, and was successful. Mr. Madison was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1809. He retained a portion of Mr. Jefferson's cabinet.† At the opening of the eleventh Congress in May, there was a majority of democrats. During that session, the British minister at Washington (Mr. Erskine) made overtures for the repeal of the non-intercourse law, promising the reversal of the British *orders in council*. But his government refused to sanction his act, and the non-intercourse law was revived in full force. The people were greatly excited, and would readily have sanctioned a declaration of war with England.

In the early part of 1810, Napoleon issued the *decree of Rambouillet*,‡ which was avowedly issued as a retaliation of the non-intercourse act of the United States, and French privateers constantly depredated upon

* She was the daughter of a Philadelphia quaker named Paine, who removed from that city to Virginia. She was well educated, and was remarkable for her fine person, polished manners, and distinguished talents in conversation. She still survives her honored husband (1847), and resides chiefly at Washington city, where her society is courted by the distinguished visitors to the national metropolis.

† He appointed Robert Smith, of Maryland, secretary of state; William Eustis, of Massachusetts, secretary of war; Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, secretary of the navy; and Albert Gallatin was continued secretary of the treasury, and Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, attorney-general.

‡ It decreed that all United States vessels which had entered French ports since the 20th of March, 1808, should be declared forfeit, and sold for the benefit of the French treasury.

Expiration of the charter of the United States bank.—His aversion to war.—Re-elected president.

our commerce. In May, Congress passed a new non-intercourse act, declaring that when either the British or French government should repeal its *orders* or *decrees*, and the other did not, the United States would repeal the act so far as it applied to the government so repealing. France reciprocated the movement, but the British cabinet would not,* and American vessels continued to be seized and sold, and American seamen pressed into the British service.

During the session of 1811, the people of Louisiana were authorized to form a state constitution, preparatory to being admitted into the Union. Also the charter of the United States bank, incorporated in 1791, expired, and a bill providing for its renewal was lost by the casting vote of the vice-president (George Clinton) in the senate. The general policy of Mr. Madison was fully sustained by Congress and the

^a Nov.
1811.

people; and at the meeting of the twelfth Congress,^a Henry Clay, an ardent supporter of the administration, was elected speaker of the house of representatives.†

After years of ineffectual negotiation with both England and France respecting their *orders* and *decrees*, the president waived his decided opposition to war measures, and, by the advice of Mr. Clay and other leading friends, he recommended strong measures toward Great Britain. Bills were accordingly passed for augmenting the army and navy, and for giving the president extraordinary powers.

The time now approached for another presidential election. The leading republicans of New York, who were dissatisfied with Mr. Madison because they thought his measures too mild in regard to foreign policy, and were anxious for an immediate declaration of war against Great Britain, contemplated nominating for the presidency De Witt Clinton, then lieutenant-governor of the state, and mayor of the city of New York. But the change in Mr. Madison's policy, and his expressed determination to prosecute a war with vigor if commenced, reconciled his more belligerent friends, and he was re-elected. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1812.‡

Toward the close of February, 1812, the president received a communication from a person named John Henry, who declared himself a secret agent of the British government, employed to treat with the disaffected federalists of New England on the subject of a separation from

* England urged that France had given no positive evidence of a repeal of her decrees. In fact, they were not repealed: and in March, 1811, Napoleon declared that those decrees were the "fundamental laws of the empire."

† Mr. Clay had been a member of the senate for two short sessions. John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, and William H. Crawford, of Georgia, were members of the house at this time, and all were the warm friends of the president.

‡ The only change in his cabinet was the appointment of Colonel James Monroe secretary of state, and William Pinckney attorney-general. Mr. Monroe was the only member of his cabinet possessed of military taste and skill.

the Union, &c.* So well established appeared the truth of his allegations, and so valuable were his services considered, that he was paid fifty thousand dollars from the secret-service fund. It was generally believed that his disclosures prevented the dismemberment, perhaps the destruction, of the whole Union.

It being determined to declare war against Great Britain, an act was passed in 1812,^a laying an embargo upon vessels of the United States for ninety days. On the 8th of April, Louisiana was ^{a April 4.} admitted into the Union; and on the 4th of June, the Missouri territory was organized. On the 3d, a majority of the committee on foreign relations of the house of representatives reported in favor of a declaration of war.† The measure was adopted in the house of representatives by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine, and in the senate by a vote of nineteen to thirteen. On the 18th of June,‡ the act was approved by the president, and he issued his proclamation accordingly. Our space will permit us only to give a brief chronological record of the leading events during the war.

1812: June.—British *orders in council* repealed. August.—surrender of General Hull. Action between the frigates *Constitution* and *Guerriere*. November.—Defeat at Queenstown. Action between the *Frolic* and *Wasp*. Action between the United States and *Macedonian*.

1813: April.—Capture of York (now Toronto), Upper Canada. May.—Battle of Fort George. June.—Chesapeake captured by the *Shannon*. September.—Perry's victory on Lake Erie. October.—Battle of the Thames, and death of Tecumseh. December.—Buffalo burnt.

1814: March.—Action between the frigates *Essex* and *Phoebe*. July.—Battle of Chippewa. Battle of Bridgewater. August.—Washington city captured, and the capitol burnt.|| Stonington bombarded. M'Donough's victory on Lake Champlain. September.—Battle of North Point, near Baltimore. December.—Treaty of Ghent signed.§ Meeting of the Hartford convention.¶

* The British minister at Washington solemnly disavowed all knowledge of the matter.

† The majority consisted of John C. Calhoun, Felix Grundy, John Smilie, John A. Harper, Joseph Desha, and Ebenezer Seaver.

‡ A party immediately sprang into existence called the "peace party," which cast every possible obstacle in the way of the administration. Although composed chiefly of federalists, it was discountenanced by many leading members of that party.

|| General Ross, with five thousand men, marched against Washington city, which was feebly defended by a few regular troops and militia. The president and his cabinet narrowly escaped capture by flight. It is said that the preservation of the "Declaration of Independence" and other valuable papers was owing to the courage of Mrs. Madison, who carried them away with her own hands.

§ The meeting of the American and British commissioners to negotiate for peace took place at Ghent in Flanders, in August. 1814. The treaty was concluded and signed on the 24th of December. It was ratified by the president, February 17, 1815.

¶ Delegations from the several New-England states assembled at Hartford for the purpose

War with Algiers.—Incorporation of United States bank.—Madison's retirement and death.

1815 : January.—Battle of New Orleans. February.—Capture of the President. Capture of the *Cyane* and *Levant*. These were the principal occurrences during the war.*

The war with England had scarcely closed, when the depredations upon our commerce by the Algerine corsairs rendered it necessary to declare war against that power. A squadron under Commodore Decatur sailed for the Mediterranean in May, 1815, and in a very short time he obtained payment for property destroyed, and treaties highly advantageous to the United States from the dey of Algiers and the beys of Tunis and Tripoli.

In 1816, another national bank was incorporated, with a capital of thirty-five millions of dollars, and a charter to continue in force twenty years. In December, Indiana was admitted into the Union as an independent state. During the autumn, James Monroe, of Virginia, was elected president, and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, vice-president ; and on the 3d of March, 1817, the second and last administration of Mr. Madison closed. He had seen his country pass honorably through the trying scenes of a war, and he resigned his office into the hands of his friend and successor amid the blessings of general peace and prosperity. He retired to his seat at Montpelier, in Orange county, Virginia, where he passed the remainder of his days in the peaceful pursuits of agriculture.† On the 28th of June, 1836, he closed his mortal career, at the ripe old age of eighty-five years.

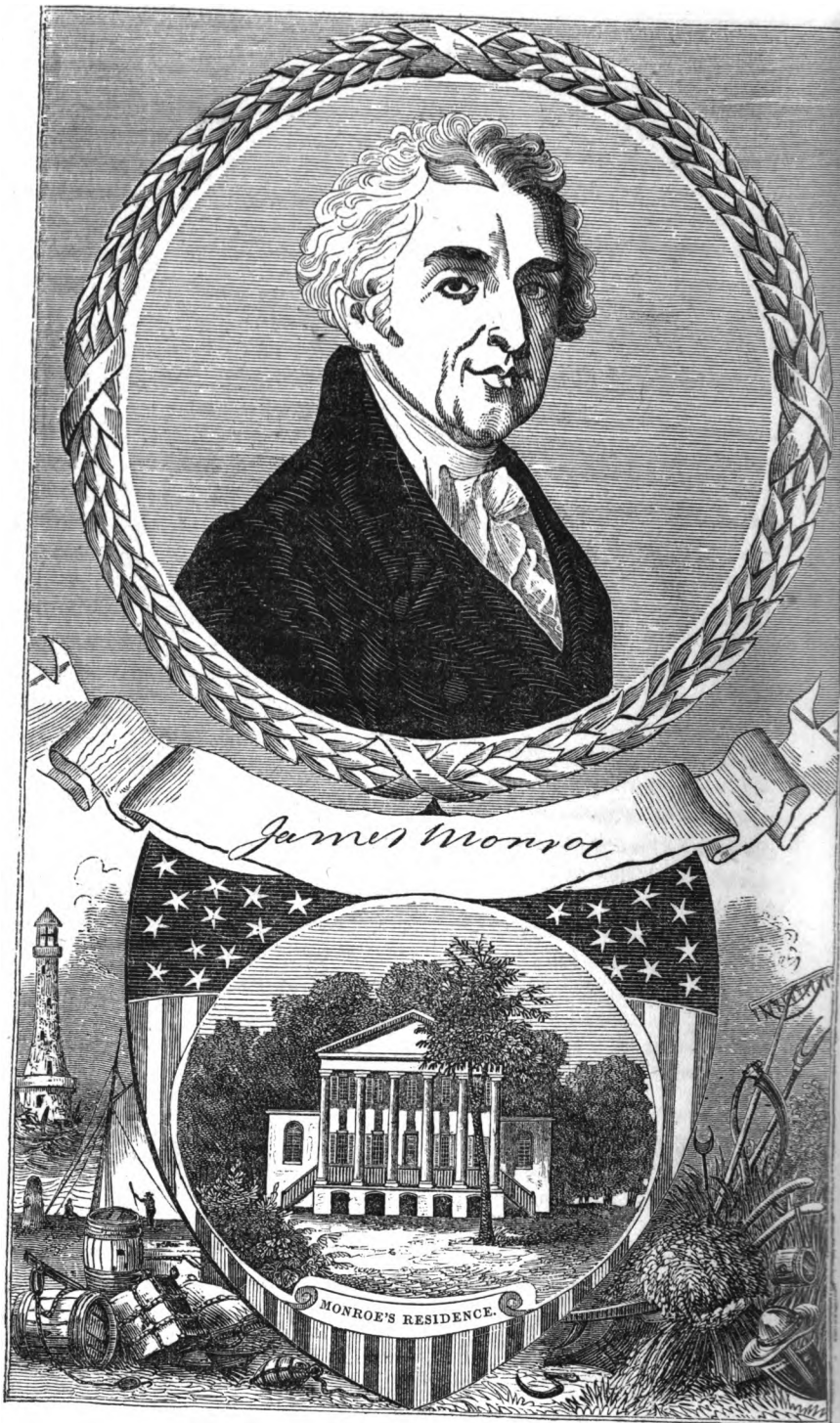
Mr. Madison was of small stature, and a little disposed to corpulency. The top of his head was bald, and he usually had his hair powdered. He generally dressed in black. His manners were modest and retiring, and in conversation he was pleasing and instructive. As a polished writer he had few equals ; and the part he bore in framing the constitution,‡ and its subsequent support, obtained for him the title of "Father of the Constitution."

of devising measures for terminating the war, to which a large majority of the people of those states were opposed. That convention has been denounced as treasonable to the general government.

* The total expenditures of the United States government during the war may be stated in round numbers at one hundred millions of dollars, and the loss of lives at thirty thousand persons.

† He was chosen, in 1829, a member of the Virginia convention to revise the state constitution, and for many years he was rector of the university established through the influence of Mr. Jefferson.

‡ He was the last surviving signer of that instrument.



JAMES MONROE,

THE FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



JAMES MONROE, the fifth president of the United States, was born on the 2d of April, 1759, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia; and it is a singular fact that the coast section of that state produced four of the first five presidents. His father, Spence Monroe, and his mother, Elizabeth Jones, were both descended from one of the earliest and most respectable families of that state. James was only six years old when the stamp-act was passed, and consequently his early youth was spent amid the excitements which intervened between that oppressive measure and the kindling of the Revolution. He thus imbibed a patriotic and military spirit from the stirring scenes around him; and when, at the age of eighteen years, he left William and Mary college, fired with the zeal which the Declaration of Independence inspired, he hastened to Washington's headquarters in New York,^a and joined the continental army. He was present at the disastrous skirmish at Harlem, on York island, and at the equally disastrous battle of White Plains. He was also found in the vanguard at Trenton, and there received a bullet-wound which scarred him for life. For his gallant service there he was promoted to the rank of captain of infantry. In the campaigns of 1777 and 1778, he acted as aid to Lord Stirling, and was distinguished for his valor in the battles of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth. While a staff-officer, he was out of the line of promotion; and being desirous of rising in the scale of honor, he made an attempt to raise a regiment of Virginia troops. He had the sanction of Washington, but the exhausted state of the country rendered his efforts ineffectual. He then turned his attention from military pursuits, and commenced the study of law under Mr. Jefferson. When dangers threatened, and actual invasion alarmed his

^a August,
1776.

Elected to Congress.—His course in relation to the constitution.—Elected governor of Virginia.

state, he was found among the volunteers; and when, in 1780, Charleston fell into the hands of the British, he repaired to the southern army as a commissioner appointed by the governor of Virginia, to collect information for Congress and the commander-in-chief, respecting its strength, and its ability to rescue and defend that portion of the Union.

In 1782, he was elected a member of the Virginia legislature, and was soon after chosen by that body a member of the executive council. The following year, although only twenty-five years of age, he was chosen a delegate to represent Virginia in the Continental Congress. He was present when Washington surrendered his commission to that body; and he continued to represent his state there until 1786.* In 1785, he took the incipient step in Congress toward the framing of a new constitution, by moving to invest Congress with the power of regulating trade and of levying an import-duty. These movements finally brought about the convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

According to a rule of the old Continental Congress, a member of that body was ineligible for a second term; and when, in 1786, Mr. Monroe's term expired, he retired to Fredericksburg, with a view of practising law. But he was soon after elected a member of the Virginia legislature; and in 1788, he was chosen a delegate to the state convention to decide upon the adoption of the constitution. Not being satisfied with that instrument, although conscious of the inefficiency of the Articles of Confederation, he opposed its adoption. In 1789, he was elected to a seat in the senate of the United States, in which station he continued until 1794, always acting with the anti-federalists, and opposed to Washington's administration.

In 1794, he was appointed to succeed Gouverneur Morris as minister to France, but not conforming to Washington's views, he was recalled in 1796.† In 1799, he was elected governor of Virginia, and served the constitutional term of three years. In 1803, Mr. Jefferson appointed him envoy extraordinary to France, to act with Mr. Livingston, and he was a party to the treaty for the cession and purchase of Louisiana. Disputes concerning boundaries having occurred with Spain, he went to Madrid to settle the difficulty, but he was unsuccessful.‡ In 1807, he and Mr. Pinckney negotiated a treaty with Great Britain, but it proved unsatisfactory, and was never ratified; and during the year he returned to the United States.

* During his attendance at New York as a member of Congress, he became acquainted with and married the daughter of Mr. L. Kortright, celebrated in the fashionable circles of London and Paris for her beauty and accomplishments. She was a most estimable woman, in both public and private life.

† On his return, he published a vindication of his course while in France, in which he censured the conduct of the administration toward that republic.

‡ Mr. Pinckney was then minister to Spain, but their joint efforts proved ineffectual.

Elected president of the United States.—The Seminole war.

In 1811, Mr. Monroe was again elected governor of Virginia, but was soon after appointed by Mr. Madison secretary of state, which office he held during Madison's administration. After the capture of Washington, he took charge of the war department (still remaining secretary of state), and in that position he exhibited great energy.

Mr. Monroe was elected president of the United States in 1816, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1817.* Impressed with the necessity of frontier defences, he started in May on a tour of inspection—extending eastward as far as Portland, in Maine, northward to the St. Lawrence, and westward to Detroit. He was absent about six months, and was everywhere greeted with distinguished honors.

The first session of the fifteenth Congress commenced on the 1st of December, 1817, when Mr. Clay was re-elected speaker of the house of representatives. The democratic majority in both houses was so overwhelming, that the old federal party seemed hardly to have an existence; in fact, it was scarcely known as such after the peace of 1815. In December, the Mississippi territory was divided: the western portion was admitted into the Union as the state of Mississippi, and the eastern was erected into a territorial government and called Alabama.†

About the close of 1817, the depredations in Georgia and Alabama, of the Seminole Indians, called for hostile measures, and General Gaines was sent to reduce them to submission. He was soon after reinforced by General Jackson‡ with a considerable number of troops, and the Indians were readily subdued.

The state of Illinois was admitted into the Union on the 3d of December, 1818. In February, 1819, a treaty was negotiated, by which Spain ceded to the United States the whole of East and West Florida and the adjacent islands. Early in the year, the territory of Arkansas was erected out of a portion of Missouri; and the people of Michigan were authorized to send a delegate to Congress. On the 4th of December, 1819, Alabama was admitted into the Union. Early in May, 1820, Maine was separated from Massachusetts and made an independent state.

* Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York, was elected vice-president. John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, was appointed secretary of state; William H. Crawford, of Georgia, secretary of the treasury; John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, secretary of war; and William Wirt, of Virginia, attorney-general. W. W. Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, was continued secretary of the navy until November, 1818, when Smith Thompson, of New York, was appointed in his place. General Jackson, who was a warm friend of Monroe, advised him to disregard party influence in his appointments, and choose the best men in the country. But he selected chiefly from among his political friends.

† Congress passed an act about the close of 1817, fixing the number of stripes, alternate red and white (first adopted in 1777), at thirteen, and directed that the Union be represented by stars equal to the number of states—white on a blue field.

‡ General Jackson marched into the Spanish territory of Florida, and seized St. Marks and Pensacola. This act gave rise to much discussion in Congress, and diplomacy between the two governments.

In 1820, Mr. Monroe was re-elected president with great unanimity. Notwithstanding general prosperity prevailed (and immigration was fast peopling new states and adding them to the Union), the currency became much deranged, and private banking-companies flooded the country with paper money. In August, 1821, Missouri, the *twenty-fourth* state, was admitted into the Union.* In January, 1822, our government acknowledged the independence of Mexico and five Spanish provinces of South America; and money sufficient to defray the expenses of envoys to each was appropriated. During the year a treaty concerning navigation and commerce was made with France. An alarming system of piracy having grown up in the West Indies, a naval force was sent there under the command of Commodore Porter, and upward of twenty piratical vessels were destroyed on the coast of Cuba,^a and their retreats were broken up. During the summer of 1824, La Fayette visited this country as the "guest of the nation," and made a tour of nearly five thousand miles.

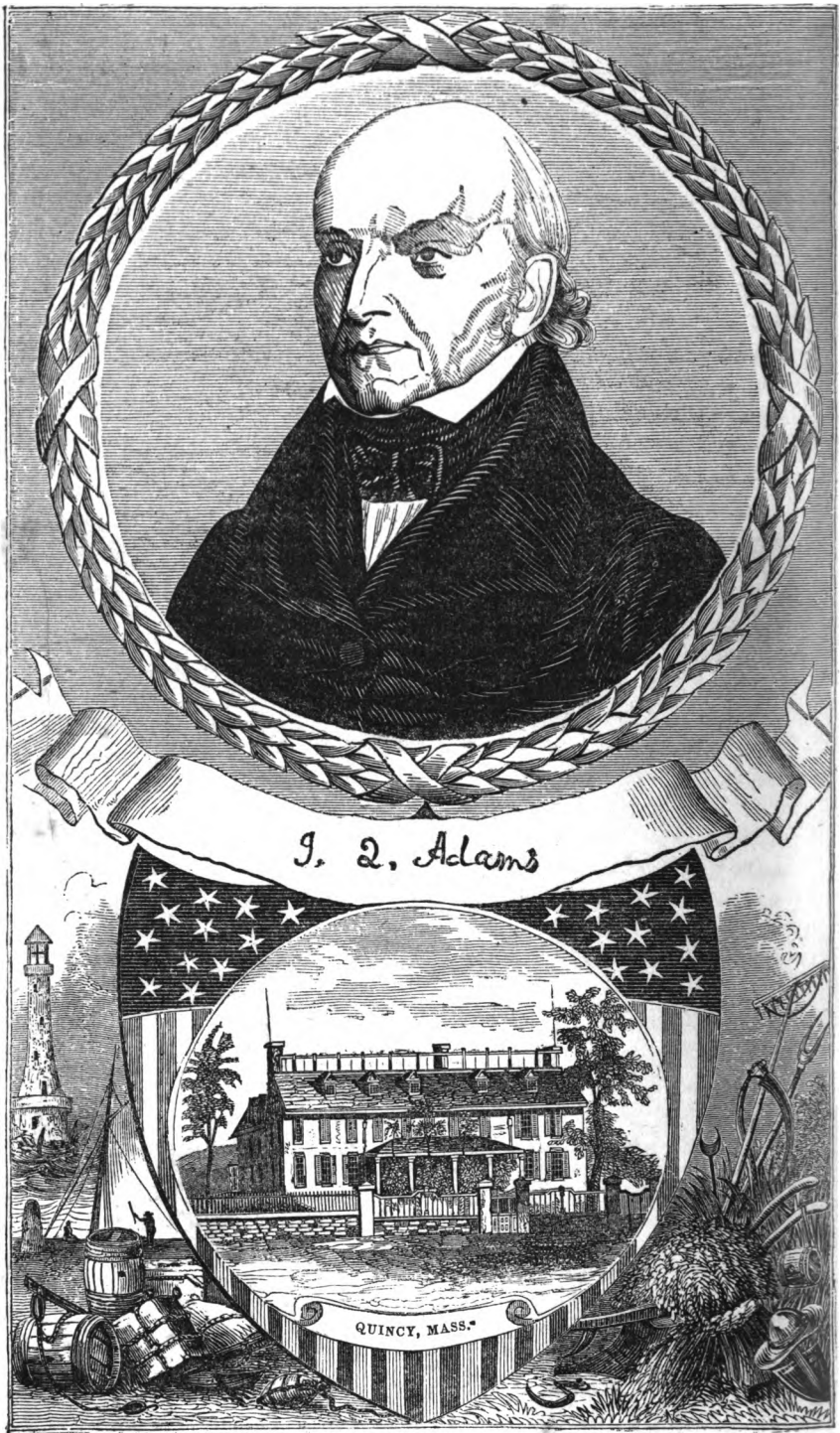
The election of Mr. Monroe's successor was an exciting topic for nearly three years. There were five candidates in the field, all of the democratic party: John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, and Andrew Jackson. The choice devolved upon the house of representatives, and John Quincy Adams was the successful one.

On the 3d of March, 1825, Mr. Monroe retired from the presidential chair, his administration having been an eminently harmonious and prosperous one.† He retired to his residence in Loudon county, in Virginia, where he resided until 1831, when he removed to the city of New York and took up his residence with his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur. He was soon after seized with severe illness; and on the 4th of July, 1831, he expired, in the seventy-second year of his age, making the third president who had died on the national anniversary.

Mr. Monroe was about six feet high and well formed, with light complexion and blue eyes. Honesty, firmness, and prudence, rather than superior intellect, were stamped upon his countenance. He was industrious and indefatigable in labor, warm in his friendships, and in manners was a good specimen of the old Virginia gentleman. His long life was honorable to himself and useful to his country.

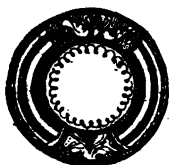
* On the subject of the admission of this state, Congress, and indeed the whole country, was greatly agitated by the question whether slavery should be allowed to exist in the new state. The north and south were for the first time arrayed against each other. The matter was finally compromised.

† During his administration, so rapid had been the tide of immigration, that six new states were added to the Union.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

THE SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



On the 11th day of July, 1767, the subject of our sketch was born at the family mansion of his father, John Adams, in Quincy, Massachusetts, and christened by the name of JOHN QUINCY, after his great-grandfather, who was a distinguished citizen of the province about the commencement of the eighteenth century.

At the age of eleven years,* he accompanied his father to France,* and received the daily caresses and instructions of Doctor Franklin and other distinguished men there. Thus he in a measure entered public life in early childhood. In 1780, he again accompanied his father to France. He went to school a short time in Paris; and on the removal of his father to Holland, he was sent, first to the public school in Amsterdam, and afterward to the city university of Leyden. In 1781, then only fourteen years of age, he accompanied Mr. Francis Dana to Russia. Mr. Dana had been appointed ambassador to that court, and young Adams went as his private secretary. In the winter of 1782-'3, he travelled alone through Sweden and Denmark, thence to Hamburg and Bremen, and reached the Hague in safety, where his father was then minister for the United States. When, in 1785, his father was appointed a minister to England, he asked leave to return home and complete his education, for hitherto his book-studies had been constantly interrupted. He entered Harvard university, where he graduated in July, 1787.

At the age of twenty he commenced the study of law with Theophilus Parsons, of Newburyport;† and after completing his course of study, he

* John Adams was a joint-commissioner with Franklin and Lee to negotiate a treaty of commerce, &c.

† While a student in his office, Parsons was chosen to address Washington on the occasion of his visit there. He asked each of his students to write an address. That of Adams was chosen and delivered by Parsons.

His essays on "Neutrality."—His various public services.—Is elected president of the United States.

removed to Boston and commenced practice, employing his leisure in writing upon political subjects. His essays, showing it to be the duty of the United States to remain neutral in regard to the existing quarrel between France and England, were read with admiration, and they effectually aided in resisting the efforts of Genet to involve the United States in the controversy. They gave him a reputation as a writer and statesman, and his talents were appreciated by Washington.* In May, 1794, he was appointed resident minister to the Netherlands. Toward the close of his administration, Washington appointed him minister to Portugal: but while on his way to Lisbon, he received a new commission from his father (then president), which changed his destination to Berlin,† where he effected a commercial treaty with Prussia. In May, 1797, he was married to Louisa Catharine, daughter of Joshua Johnson, of Maryland, at that time residing in London.

He returned to America in 1801, and in 1802 he was elected to the senate of Massachusetts. In 1803, he was elected to a seat in the United States senate, where he uniformly supported the measures of Mr. Jefferson. For this support the Massachusetts legislature censured him, and in 1806 he resigned his seat.

In 1809, Mr. Madison appointed him minister plenipotentiary to the court of the emperor of Russia, and he was the first who occupied that station. The emperor Alexander admitted him to a degree of intimacy quite extraordinary; and when war between the United States and Great Britain was declared in 1812, he offered his mediation, but it was rejected by the latter government. In 1814, Mr. Adams was placed at the head of the American commission that met the English commissioners at Ghent, to negotiate for peace. In connexion with Clay and Gallatin, he negotiated a treaty of commerce with Great Britain, on the basis of which our present commercial relations with that country are founded.

In 1815, Mr. Adams was appointed minister to the court of St. James, which post he occupied until 1817, when President Monroe offered him a seat in his cabinet as secretary of state. He accepted the office, and he remained therein during the eight years' administration of Mr. Monroe. His indefatigable industry, and clear, statesmanlike views, rendered him one of the most useful men in the country.

In 1824, Mr. Adams was one of five candidates for president of the United States. In consequence of this number, by which the votes in the electoral college were divided, that body could not make a choice, and it was referred to the house of representatives. Mr. Adams was

* Mr. Jefferson, who formed an acquaintance with him in Paris, recommended Washington to introduce him into the public service.

† This change was made by the advice and approval of Washington.

Growth of opposition. — Trouble in Georgia. — Indian treaties. — Tariff-bill. — Presidential election.

chosen, and on the 4th of March, 1825, he was inaugurated. The senate being in session, he at once nominated his cabinet, which nominations were confirmed.*

Mr. Adams's administration was one of almost unbroken peace and prosperity — peace with foreign nations, and tranquillity and prosperity at home. Such being the case, there are but a few prominent events in his administration requiring especial notice, and these chiefly relate to our domestic affairs. Unlike his predecessor, Mr. Monroe, Mr. Adams found a powerful opposition to his administration rapidly growing up, and at the close of his term, the party lines were very distinctly drawn.

In 1825, some difficulty arose between the general government and the state of Georgia, respecting the extinguishment of the Indian titles in that state,† but it was soon amicably settled. In August, a treaty was concluded with the northwest tribes, and a general peace with the savages ensued. In September, La Fayette departed for France in the frigate *Brandywine*.‡ When he left Washington, Mr. Adams pronounced an eloquent parting address in the presence of a vast concourse of people.

The first session of the nineteenth Congress passed but few acts of general public interest; and when the second session opened, hostility to the administration was so strongly manifested, that it was evident that measures, even of acknowledged public utility, would, if proposed by the president or his friends, meet with much opposition. Mr. Calhoun, the vice-president, was alienated from Mr. Adams; and the opposition, daily accumulating strength, assumed the decided lineaments of a distinct party before the close of the session in 1827. As early as October, 1825, the legislature of Tennessee nominated General Jackson as a candidate for the presidency, which nomination was accepted by him, and he resigned his seat in the senate of that state.

A general tariff-bill was passed on the 19th of April, 1828, in accordance with numerous petitions and memorials from northern manufacturers and others. It was very unpopular in the southern states, and attempts were made for its revision, but it remained in force until 1832, when it was changed by the compromise-bill offered by Mr. Clay.

The presidential election took place in the autumn of 1828. Public feeling was highly excited, and all the bitterness of party rancor which distinguished the two parties at the time of Mr. Jefferson's election was exhibited. The candidates were General Jackson and Mr. Adams; the

* He appointed Henry Clay, of Kentucky, secretary of state; Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury; James Barbour, of Virginia, secretary of war; and Mr. Wirt was continued attorney-general.

† A few Creek chiefs, in violation of a law of their nation, negotiated with the United States for a cession of all their lands in Georgia and Alabama. The matter was finally settled to the satisfaction of both Georgia and the Indians, by the latter retaining their lands in Alabama.

‡ This was a new frigate, and was named *Brandywine* in honor of La Fayette, who was distinguished for his valor in the battle at the river of that name, during our Revolution.

His retirement from office.—Elected a member of the house of representatives.—His character.

result was the election of the former by a vote in the electoral college of one hundred and seventy-one to eighty-eight. On the 3d of March, 1829, Mr. Adams left the presidential chair and retired to private life, beloved by his political friends, and highly respected by his opponents.

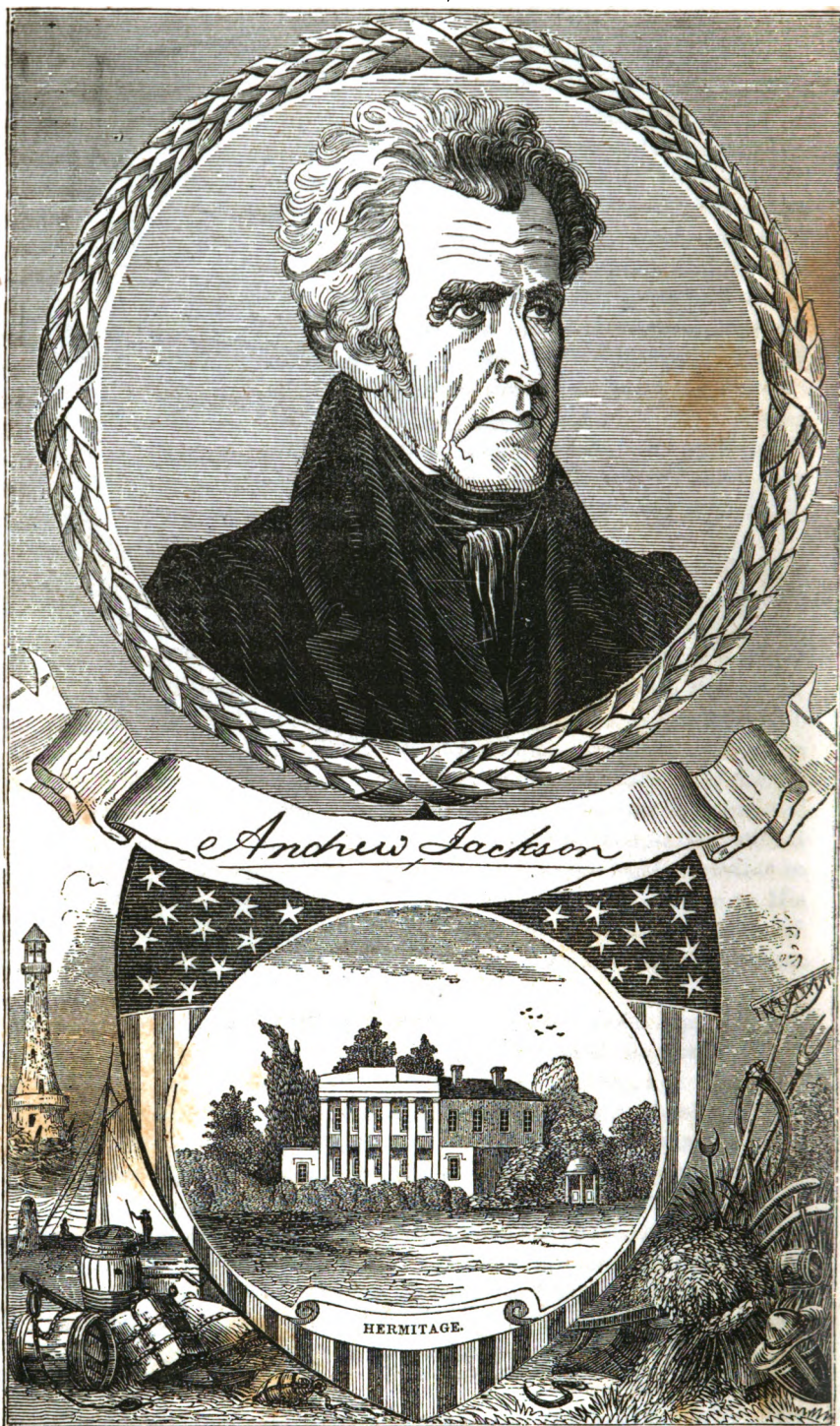
The most prominent features in Mr. Adams's administration were those pertaining to the domestic policy of the government, and time alone can determine how far that policy was based upon sound wisdom. That much was done for the true honor, glory, and prosperity of the country, none can deny. During his administration, internal improvements had been fostered with a liberal hand, nearly fourteen millions of dollars having been expended for these and other beneficial objects; more than five millions of dollars were appropriated to the surviving officers of the Revolution; and at the same time the interest on the public debt was punctually paid, and the principal was reduced more than thirty millions of dollars. When Mr. Adams left the executive chair, the United States were at peace with all the world.

But he was not long permitted to enjoy the repose of private life. In 1830, he was elected to represent in Congress the district in which he resided, and in December, 1831, he took his seat in the house of representatives. He was then in the sixty-fifth year of his age. From that time until the present, he has been a member of the house, and one of its most active and indefatigable laborers. His fervid eloquence on all occasions where his feelings are warmly enlisted, has always given him great power in debate, and obtained for him the appellation of "the old man eloquent." His feelings and his exertions have ever been enlisted on the side of popular freedom and human rights; and in the national legislature he is one of the stoutest champions of the right of petition in its broadest sense. He is now past eighty years of age.* His physical strength is failing under the accumulating weight of years, but his intellect seems to retain its strength and brilliancy almost undiminished.

* 1847.

Mr. Adams's private character has always been above reproach, and in his professions and practice he exhibits the traits of the sincere Christian. Having been in public life almost from infancy, and constantly associated with distinguished men of many nations, his school of observation has been vast and varied. His early taste for literature has been a passion through life, and his ever-active and retentive memory has made his mind a vast storehouse of knowledge. He is acknowledged to be one of the most (perhaps the most) accomplished scholars in America.

Mr. Adams is of middle stature and rather full person, and his dark, penetrating eyes beam with intelligence. Old age is bowing his head, but when seated at his desk, in Congress, nothing but his thin gray hair would indicate his physical decadence.



ANDREW JACKSON,

THE SEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



HE family of ANDREW JACKSON were of Scottish origin, his earlier known ancestors having emigrated from Scotland to the province of Ulster, in Ireland, in the time of Henry VII. His grandfather was a linen-draper near Carrickfergus, in Ireland, and had four sons, all respectable farmers. Andrew, the youngest, married Elizabeth Hutchinson, and in 1765 he emigrated to America. He purchased lands and settled in the Waxhaw settlement, in South Carolina, where, on the 15th of March, 1767, his son Andrew, the subject of this memoir, was born.

Andrew's father died about the time of his birth, leaving his widow and children (the two elder ones were born in Ireland) in very comfortable circumstances. She desired to see her youngest son prepared for the ministry in the presbyterian church, and with this view she placed him under the tuition of Mr. Humphries, the principal of the Waxhaw academy. There he obtained a tolerable knowledge of Latin and Greek, and a pretty thorough training in the common branches of an English education. The tumults of the opening Revolution reached the region of the Waxhaws: and at the early age of nine years, Andrew became accustomed to the excitements which that event produced. His studies were interrupted, and his mind became inflamed with a burning zeal to enrol himself among the defenders of his country.

In 1778, active military operations were commenced in South Carolina. The militia were called to the field to repel the invading foe, and Hugh, the eldest of Andrew's brothers, was slain. In 1780, a battle was fought in the Waxhaw settlement, and it was there that young Jackson first saw the direful effects of British oppression; and his youthful heart glowed with patriotic desire to avenge the bloody deed. Although but

Enters the revolutionary army. — Elected to the United States senate. — Burr's expedition.

a little more than thirteen years of age, he joined a volunteer corps with his brother Robert, and served under General Sumter.

In 1781, both brothers were taken prisoners; and soon after being released, they returned with their mother to the Waxhaws, where Robert died from the effects of a wound* and sickness. Their mother soon after died, and Andrew was the only survivor of the Jackson family who came to America.

When the Revolution closed, young Jackson, with some property and none to advise or restrain him, fell into bad habits, which threatened his ruin. But he suddenly reformed, and in 1784 commenced the study of law at Salisbury, North Carolina. Soon after completing his studies, the governor appointed him solicitor for that portion of the state now known as Tennessee. In his professional travels he endured many hardships, and was frequently brought into collision with the Indians.†

In 1791, he married Mrs. Rachel Robards, a beautiful and accomplished woman, who had been previously divorced from her husband.

In 1795, he was chosen a member of the convention for forming a state constitution for Tennessee; and he was elected the first representative of the new state in Congress, and took his seat in December, 1796. He was soon after elected to the senate of the United States, and took his seat in November, 1797, being then just past thirty years of age. He acted with the democratic party in opposition to the administrations of Washington and Adams. Soon after leaving the senate, he was appointed judge of the supreme court of his state; and he also held the commission of a major-general of the militia. In 1804, he resigned his judgeship, and, in the enjoyment of a competent fortune, he retired to his plantation near Nashville.

In 1805, he was visited by Colonel Aaron Burr: and again in 1806 Burr was an inmate of his house. Believing Burr's expedition to be against Mexico, in case of a war with Spain, he promised him assistance; but during his last visit, being suspicious that Burr's intentions were inimical to the United States, he withdrew his friendship, and was subsequently in command of a militia force detailed to arrest him for treason. But Burr had got beyond his reach, and was afterward arrested by other parties.‡

When, in 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain, Jackson ardently longed for an opportunity to enter the army. One soon offered, and in January, 1813, he descended the Mississippi at the

* While a prisoner, he was severely wounded by a blow upon his head by a British officer, because he refused to do some menial service for him. Andrew was also ordered one day to clean the muddy boots of a British officer, and, on refusing to do it, received a severe sword-cut.

† On account of his gallantry, the Indians called him "Sharp Knife" and "Pointed Arrow."

‡ Burr always highly respected Jackson, and it is said that as early as 1815 he named him as a suitable candidate for the presidency.

Expeditions against the Indians. — Battle of New Orleans. — The Seminoles.

head of a body of volunteer troops, destined for the defence of New Orleans and vicinity. They were, however, soon after marched home and discharged, the necessity for their serving seeming no longer to exist.*

Early in 1813, he was appointed to the command of an expedition against the Creek Indians, who, in connexion with the northern tribes, were committing dreadful massacres upon the frontiers.† He reached the Indian country in October, 1813, and after several severe battles he brought them to the knee of submission.

In May, 1814, General Jackson received the appointment of major-general in the United States army, on the resignation of General Harrison. During the summer he acted as diplomatist in negotiating treaties with the southern Indians, which he effected to the entire satisfaction of his government. Learning that a body of British troops were at Pensacola (then in possession of Spain), drilling a large number of Indians for war, he advised his government to take possession of that port. Subsequently, having about thirty-five hundred men under his command for the defence of the southern country, he captured Pensacola^a on his own responsibility, and put an end to difficulties in that

^a Nov. 7,
1814.

quarter. On the 1st of December he arrived at New Orleans, and made his headquarters there. He set about preparing for its defence, and, in order to act efficiently, declared martial law. On the 21st of December he had a battle with the British, nine miles below the city; and on the 8th of January^b the decisive battle of New Orleans was fought.‡

^b 1815.

On the 13th of February an express arrived at headquarters with intelligence of the conclusion of peace between the United States and Great Britain. In every section of the Union the triumph at New Orleans was hailed with the greatest joy, and Jackson became exceedingly popular.

In 1818, he was called to act in conjunction with General Gaines in suppressing the depredations of the Seminole Indians in Florida. In the course of the campaign he took possession of St. Marks, and again of Pensacola, although in the possession of the Spanish. This act portended trouble with Spain, but the speedy cession of Florida to the United States removed all cause. On the close of the campaign he resigned his commission in the army.

In 1821, President Monroe appointed him governor of Florida; and in 1823 he was offered the station of minister to Mexico. In 1822, the

* He was ordered to disband them at Natchez, but foreseeing the great misery it would produce, as many of them had no means of returning home, he disobeyed orders and marched them back. His act was subsequently approved; and the expenses paid.

† They were instigated by Tecumseh and his brother. The latter was a prophet of unbounded influence.

‡ Great rejoicings succeeded; children dressed in white strewed his way with flowers, and a *Te Deum* was sung in the cathedral, where the bishop presented the general with a chaplet of laurel.

Elected president of the United States.—Nullification.—The French indemnity.

legislature of Tennessee nominated him for president of the United States; and in 1823 it elected him United States senator. In 1824, he was one of the five candidates for president, and received more votes than any of his competitors, but not a sufficient number to elect him. In 1825, he entertained La Fayette at his estate called the "Hermitage." In 1828, he was elected president of the United States by a majority of more than two to one over Mr. Adams.* Mr. Calhoun was elected vice-president.

The administration of Jackson, of eight years' duration, was, like his life, an eventful one, but our prescribed limits will permit us only to briefly refer to the principal events which distinguished it.

The spirit of the advice which Jackson had given to Monroe was not regarded by himself, and he chose for his cabinet, and other appointments, men of his own party exclusively.† During the first year of his administration a great many removals from office took place, and this subjected him to severe animadversions.

The hostility of the southern portion of the Union to the tariff of 1828, evolved bold doctrines concerning state rights; and in 1830 the principle known as "nullification" was openly avowed by Mr. Calhoun and his southern friends. The legislature of South Carolina had previously*

* Feb.,
1829.

declared the tariff-law unconstitutional. Virginia, Georgia, and Alabama, sided with South Carolina, and assumed that the sovereignty of the states was so absolute that they had the right to nullify any act of the general government. This was an alarming doctrine, and the dissolution of the Union seemed near at hand.‡ But the energy of the president was equal to the emergency. He issued a pro-

§ 1832.

clamation,^b and sent troops to Charleston, to act as occasion might require. These energetic measures were approved by the great body of the people, and active nullification soon disappeared.||

In 1830, the French government having changed hands, Mr. Rives, United States minister at Paris, negotiated a treaty, by which the payment of nearly five millions of dollars, for depredations upon our commerce about the close of the last century, was stipulated. It was to be paid in six annual instalments; but the French chamber of deputies neg-

* Just before departing for Washington in 1829, to assume the reins of government, he lost his estimable wife. The bereavement weighed heavily upon his spirits, and he entered upon his exalted duties with a sad heart.

† He appointed Martin Van Buren, of New York, secretary of state; Samuel D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury; John H. Eaton, of Tennessee, secretary of war; John Branch, of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; and John M'Pherson Berrien, of Georgia, attorney-general.

‡ Near the close of 1832, the legislature of South Carolina passed an act nullifying the revenue-laws, and authorizing the governor of the state to call out the militia to sustain the act, if necessary.

|| A compromise-bill offered by Mr. Clay, providing for a gradual reduction of duties until 1843, tended to allay the excitement, and to satisfy the less fiery advocates of nullification.

The Black-Hawk war.—United States bank.—The Cherokees.—Seminole war.

lected or refused to appropriate the amount, and the draft for the first instalment came back protested. This act the president highly resented, and a war between this country and France became extremely probable. The matter was finally settled in 1836, but not till years of angry dispute had, in a great measure, alienated from each other the people of the two countries.

In 1830, by a treaty with Great Britain, direct trade was opened with the British colonies in the West Indies. In 1832, the war with the Indian tribes on the northwest frontier, known as the "Black-Hawk war," occurred. From 1829 to 1833, advantageous commercial treaties were concluded with many of the governments of the Old World.

In 1832, a bill for rechartering the United States bank was passed by both houses of Congress. The bill was vetoed by the president, and in 1836 the bank, as a national institution, ceased to exist.

In the autumn of 1832, Jackson was re-elected president, and Martin Van Buren was elected vice-president. Mr. Clay was the opposing candidate for president.

In 1832, the president becoming convinced that the United States bank was insolvent, directed the removal of the government deposits from its custody. This measure produced great excitement, and, to some extent, a defection from the administration ranks. It was proved, by a subsequent commission, that the bank was in a sound condition. The great commercial revulsion of 1836-'7 was charged upon this measure, but, as a majority of the people believed, without any just cause.

In 1834, the Cherokee nation of Indians, inhabiting a portion of Georgia, came into collision with the authorities of that state, who claimed that by certain treaties their lands belonged to Georgia. They were partially civilized and had many farms under cultivation, and it was a peculiar hardship for them to leave and go into the wilderness. In 1835, amicable arrangements were made for their removal, and they went beyond the Mississippi. This was a most unrighteous act of our government.

Toward the close of 1835, the Seminole Indians in Florida commenced hostilities against the white settlements on the frontier. An attempt of the government to remove the tribes beyond the Mississippi was the immediate cause of the war. Osceola was the chief warrior of the Seminoles, and by his artful dissimulation in diplomacy, and boldness in war, the contest lasted for several years.

In 1835-'6, a large number of banking institutions sprang up in the several states, and the facility thus afforded for obtaining money, fostered a spirit of speculation, which finally ended in a business revulsion such as was never witnessed here before. The celebrated "specie circular," issued from the treasury department in 1836, requiring the payment of

The "Specie Circular."—Expunging resolutions.—Jackson's death and character.

gold and silver for public lands, gave the first powerful check to mad schemes of speculation, and it doubtless prevented in a measure the absorption of the entire public domain by a few individuals.

In the fall of 1836, another presidential election occurred. The opposing candidates were Martin Van Buren (democratic), and General Harrison and Judge White (opposition). Van Buren was elected president and Richard M. Johnson vice-president.

In January, 1837, a resolution was passed, expunging from the journals of Congress a resolution offered by Mr. Clay in 1834, censuring the course of the president in removing the government funds from the United States bank. The last official act of Jackson's administration was an informal veto (by retaining it in his possession till after the adjournment of Congress) of a bill so far counteracting the "specie circular" as to allow the reception of the notes of specie-paying banks in payment for public lands.

On the 3d of March, 1837, his administration closed; and having published a farewell address, he retired to the "Hermitage" in Tennessee, where he passed the remainder of his days. For the last two years of his life he was physically quite infirm, but his mind lost but little of its energy. On the 8th of June, 1845, he expired, in the seventy-ninth year of his age. Public funeral obsequies were performed throughout the country,* for it might be truly said, a "great man has fallen in Israel." His estate was left to the Donelson family, who were relatives of Mrs. Jackson, he having no blood-relations in this country.

In person, General Jackson was six feet one inch high, remarkably straight, and thin, never weighing over one hundred and fifty pounds. His sharp, intelligent eye was a dark blue. His manners were pleasing, his address commanding, and the most remarkable feature of his character was firmness. Honest and conscientious, no obstacle could prevent his doing what he judged to be right. Benevolence was in him a leading virtue, and his moral character was ever above reproach.

* A colossal equestrian statue is to be erected upon an arch to span Pennsylvania avenue, near the capitol, at Washington. It is to be erected by private subscription.



MARTIN VAN BUREN;

THE EIGHTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

HITHERTO, in tracing the lives of our chief magistrates, we have been carried back to the scenes of the Revolution, for they came upon the stage of life before that eventful period. They were also Anglo-Americans; but the eighth president was, in relation to our war of independence, like St. Paul, as "one born out of due time," and his fatherland was not of the British realm.

The Van Buren family were among the earlier emigrants from Holland to the New Netherlands (New York). They settled upon lands on the east bank of the Hudson, now known by the name of Kinderhook, in Columbia county. MARTIN VAN BUREN was born at Kinderhook on the 5th of December, 1782. His father was a farmer in moderate circumstances, and both of his parents were distinguished for sagacity, sound sense, and uprightness of character. His early education was extremely limited, but the little opportunity afforded him at the Kinderhook academy, for acquiring any learning beyond the mere rudiments of a good English education, was industriously improved. At the age of fourteen years he entered the office of Francis Sylvester, a lawyer of Kinderhook, and very soon gave promise of future eminence, being, even at that age, a keen observer of men and things, a good extempore speaker, and quite a ready writer. During his long course of study* he was almost constantly employed in cases in justices' courts, and when his term expired he was an accomplished pleader at the bar, and a well-informed politician. His father was a whig of the Revolution and a democrat during the administration of the elder Adams, and therefore Martin was trained in the democratic school, its adherents then forming a small minority in his native town and county. The last year of his preparatory studies was spent in the office of William P. Van Ness, an eminent lawyer and leading democrat in the city of New

* At that time, students at law were not admitted to practice until they had studied seven years, unless they had received a collegiate education.

His professional life.—Elected to the state senate.—Opposed to Clinton.—Elected to the U. S. senate.

York. There he became acquainted with many of the leading politicians of the day, among whom was Aaron Burr, then vice-president of the United States.

In November, 1803, Mr. Van Buren was admitted to practice in the supreme court of the United States, and in his native town he formed a law-partnership with his half-brother Mr. Van Alen. In 1806, he married Miss Hannah Hoes, who was distantly related to him. She died in 1818, leaving him four sons. Mr. Van Buren has never married again. In 1808, he was appointed surrogate of Columbia county, and from that time until 1815 he had a lucrative practice, and gained almost the apex of renown in his profession. In 1815, he was appointed attorney-general of the state, and he continued the practice of law until 1828, when he was elected governor of the state of New York.

Mr. Van Buren's political career has been a brilliant one. He entered the field as early as 1804, when Aaron Burr and Morgan Lewis were the opposing democratic candidates for governor of the state. He supported Mr. Lewis. In 1807, he warmly supported Daniel D. Tompkins for the same office; and during the entire administration of Mr. Jefferson it received his support. He was opposed to the rechartering of the United States bank in 1811, and he warmly defended the course of the vice-president (George Clinton), who gave his casting vote against the measure.

In 1812 (then thirty years of age), he was elected to the state senate. Although favorable to all the strong measures (even to the declaration of war) adopted against Great Britain in 1812-'13, yet he gave his vote in the senate to De Witt Clinton for president of the United States.*

In 1816, he was appointed a regent of the university, and was also re-elected to the senate for four years, where he warmly advocated the Erie-canal project. He became personally and politically opposed to Mr. Clinton; and when, in 1818, that gentleman was elected governor, Mr. Van Buren opposed his administration, and was one of the leaders of that portion of the democratic party an alleged association of which at the seat of government was known by the name of the "Albany Regency." Mr. Clinton's friends having a majority in the "Council of Appointment," Mr. Van Buren was removed from the office of attorney-general. It was afterward tendered to him, but he declined it.

In 1821, Mr. Van Buren was elected to the senate of the United States. He was also an active and leading member of the convention that met that year to revise the constitution of the state of New York.

* Mr. Clinton was nominated by that portion of the democratic party in New York who were opposed to the war. He was also very popular with the people at large; and, in supporting him, Mr. Van Buren believed he was acting in accordance with the wishes of a majority of his own party.

Appointed secretary of state. — Appointed minister to England. — Elected president of the United States.

In 1827, he was re-elected to the United States senate for six years. In 1828, he was elected governor of his state. In a brief message in January, 1829, he proposed the celebrated "safety-fund" system for banking institutions. In 1829, General Jackson appointed him secretary of state, and he resigned the office of governor. In 1831, on the dissolution of Jackson's cabinet, Mr. Van Buren was appointed minister to Great Britain. The appointment was not confirmed by the senate, and he was recalled. His friends looked upon this as political persecution, and he was nominated for and elected vice-president of the United States in 1832. In 1836, he was elected president, and Colonel Richard M. Johnson was elected vice-president. Mr. Van Buren was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1837. Like General Jackson, he selected his cabinet from among his political friends.*

In consequence of the expansion of the paper currency by the almost limitless discounts of the newly-created banks, mad speculations at home and excessive importations from abroad were fostered, which finally reached a crisis, and in 1837 a revulsion took place, and a commercial panic spread over the whole country, producing wide-spread distress. The banks suspended specie payments (sanctioned in New York by a legislative act), and so deranged became the currency and the whole machinery of trade, that in September, 1837, the president convened an extraordinary Congress,† in compliance with the prayer of petitions from all parts of the Union. In his message, the president proposed what his opponents termed the "sub-treasury scheme." This measure was opposed, not only by his political enemies, but by his democratic friends who were concerned in banks,‡ and it was at that time very unpopular. The subject of the sub-treasury was postponed. An act was passed authorizing the issue of ten millions of dollars in treasury-notes; also an appropriation of \$1,600,000 for the Florida or Seminole war.

At the opening of the session of Congress in December, the president again pressed the independent-treasury scheme; but the measure, though supported in the senate, was defeated in the house. It was adopted at the next session, and received the president's signature on the 4th of July, 1840. In 1838, the territory of Iowa was established; and Mr. Preston, of South Carolina, introduced a resolution in the senate in favor of the annexation of Texas to the United States. During the

* He appointed John Forsyth, of Georgia, secretary of state; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, secretary of the treasury; Joel R. Poinsett, of South Carolina, secretary of war; Mahlon Dickerson, of New Jersey, secretary of the navy; Amos Kendall, of Kentucky, post-master-general; and Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, attorney-general. With the exception of Mr. Poinsett, these gentlemen were all members of Jackson's cabinet.

† It remained in session forty-three days.

‡ This portion of the democratic party separated from the administration, and were known as conservatives. They subsequently fell into the ranks of the old opposition, or, as it was (and still is) termed, "whig party."

years 1837-'8, the "Canada rebellion" broke out : and so strongly were the sympathies of the Americans aroused, that large numbers flocked to the standard of the insurgents. This threatened serious consequences to the peace existing between our government and that of Great Britain, and the president, by proclamation and other measures, successfully checked the belligerent movements of our people on the frontier.

During the summer of 1839, the president visited the state of New York for the first time since his inauguration, and was everywhere greeted with enthusiasm by his political friends, and with great personal respect by his opponents. The derangement of the currency and prostration of trade (attributed, as usual, to the mal-administration of the government) caused great political changes : and of the representatives in the twenty-sixth Congress, there were one hundred and nineteen democrats and one hundred and eighteen whigs,* leaving out of view five representatives from New Jersey whose seats were contested. After several stormy debates, the democratic members were admitted.

In 1840, Mr. Van Buren was a candidate for re-election, but the great political changes, from causes before hinted at, as indicated in the state elections, gave but little hope for his success. General Harrison, the candidate of the opposition, was elected by a large majority. John Tyler, of Virginia, was elected vice-president.

Mr. Van Buren's administration closed on the 3d of March, 1841. It was an exciting one, and its character can not now be properly estimated. It must be left to the just verdict of posterity to decide how far its measures have been conducive of good to the country. It has been remarked that the great event of his administration, by which it "will hereafter be known and designated, is the *divorce of bank and state* in the fiscal affairs of the federal government, and the return, after half a century of deviation, to the original design of the constitution."

Since his retirement from office, Mr. Van Buren has resided upon his beautiful estate at Kinderhook, where he enjoys, in a large degree, those essentials of human happiness, "health, wealth, and troops of friends." His private character is above all censure, and in public life no man ever had or deserved warmer or truer friends. Pure motives, stern integrity, felicitous powers of conversation, amiability of character, habitual self-respect, yet a delicate regard for the feelings of others, and equanimity of deportment in both public and private life, he is an ornament of the social circle, and justly the pride of his country.

In personal appearance, Mr. Van Buren is about the middle size, erect, and rather inclined to corpulency. His hair (formerly light) is now white, his eye is bright and deeply penetrating, and his expansive forehead indicates great intellectual power. He is now (1847) sixty-five years of age.

* The name of "whig" was adopted by the opposition during the second administration of General Jackson, and is still the name of that party.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON,

THE NINTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was born at Berkley, about twenty-five miles from Richmond, Virginia, on the 9th of February, 1773. His father, Benjamin Harrison, was an active patriot of the Revolution,* and was subsequently governor of Virginia. WILLIAM HENRY was the youngest of three sons, and the favorite of his father. After completing a collegiate course at Hampden Sydney, he was sent to Philadelphia to prosecute the study of medicine. He had scarcely arrived there, when the shocking news of his father's death reached him, and damped his ardor for his profession. Contrary to the wishes and advice of his guardian (the celebrated Robert Morris), he resolved to enter the army; and having obtained from Washington an ensign's commission, he departed for the western wilderness, to engage in the Indian wars of that region. He reached Fort Washington (now Cincinnati) in time to hear of the defeat of the whites, and the slaughter of brave leaders and their men.

When General Wayne, in 1794, took the command in the northwest, young Harrison was soon noticed for his valor, and made one of his aids. He was promoted to captain; and after the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, he was left in command of Fort Washington. He soon after married the daughter of Judge Symmes, the proprietor of the Miami purchase, and, resigning his military commission, entered upon civil official duties as secretary of the northwestern territory.

In 1799, Harrison was elected the first delegate to Congress from the northwestern territory.† Through his influence in Congress, such salutary regulations respecting the sale and occupancy of public lands at the west were effected, that emigration rapidly filled the country with settlers.

When, soon after,‡ Indiana was erected into a territory, Harrison, ^{a 1801.} was appointed governor thereof by President Adams. He was clothed with extraordinary powers, which subsequently became necessary, for in their exercise he was instrumental in saving the settlers of

* He was a representative from Virginia in the continental Congress, and was chairman of the committee of the whole house when the Declaration of Independence was agreed to. He was also one of the signers of that instrument.

† Now comprising the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and the then undefined territory now known as Iowa and Wisconsin. ‡The venerable General St. Clair was the governor of the territory.

Battle of Tippecanoe. — Elected president of the United States. — His character and death.

that frontier from the hatchet of the savages, whetted by British intrigue.* When the war of 1812 broke out, Harrison found the Indians ripe for conflict, under the teachings of the brave Tecumseh and his prophet-brother. Before that event he took the field in person, and, by his skill and bravery, obtained a decisive victory over the savages at Tippecanoe, the village of Tecumseh. In 1812, he received the appointment of brevet major-general in the Kentucky militia, and on the surrender of Hull, he was appointed a major-general in the army of the United States.

In October, 1813,^b he achieved the battle of the Thames.[†]

Oct. 5. In 1814, he resigned his commission, in consequence of a misunderstanding with General Armstrong, the secretary of war. President Madison, who held him in the greatest esteem, deeply deplored the act of resignation. General Harrison retired to his farm at North Bend, in Ohio, but the voice of the people called him forth to represent them at various times, both in the state legislature and in the Congress of the United States. In 1824, he was elected to the senate of the United States; and in 1828, he was appointed minister to the republic of Colombia, in South America. In consequence of some difference of views respecting the Panama question, General Jackson recalled him. He retired to his estate at North Bend, with the intention of passing the remainder of his days there in the bosom of his family. But the voice of the people again called him forth, and in 1840 he was elected president of the United States by an overwhelming majority—234 against 60. John Tyler, of Virginia, was elected vice-president.

General Harrison was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1841, and made his cabinet appointments from among his political friends.‡ The sound of rejoicing that attended his elevation had scarcely died upon the ear, when a funeral-knell was heard, and the beloved and veteran statesman was a corpse in the presidential mansion! On the 4th of April, just one month after his inauguration, he expired, aged sixty-eight years.||

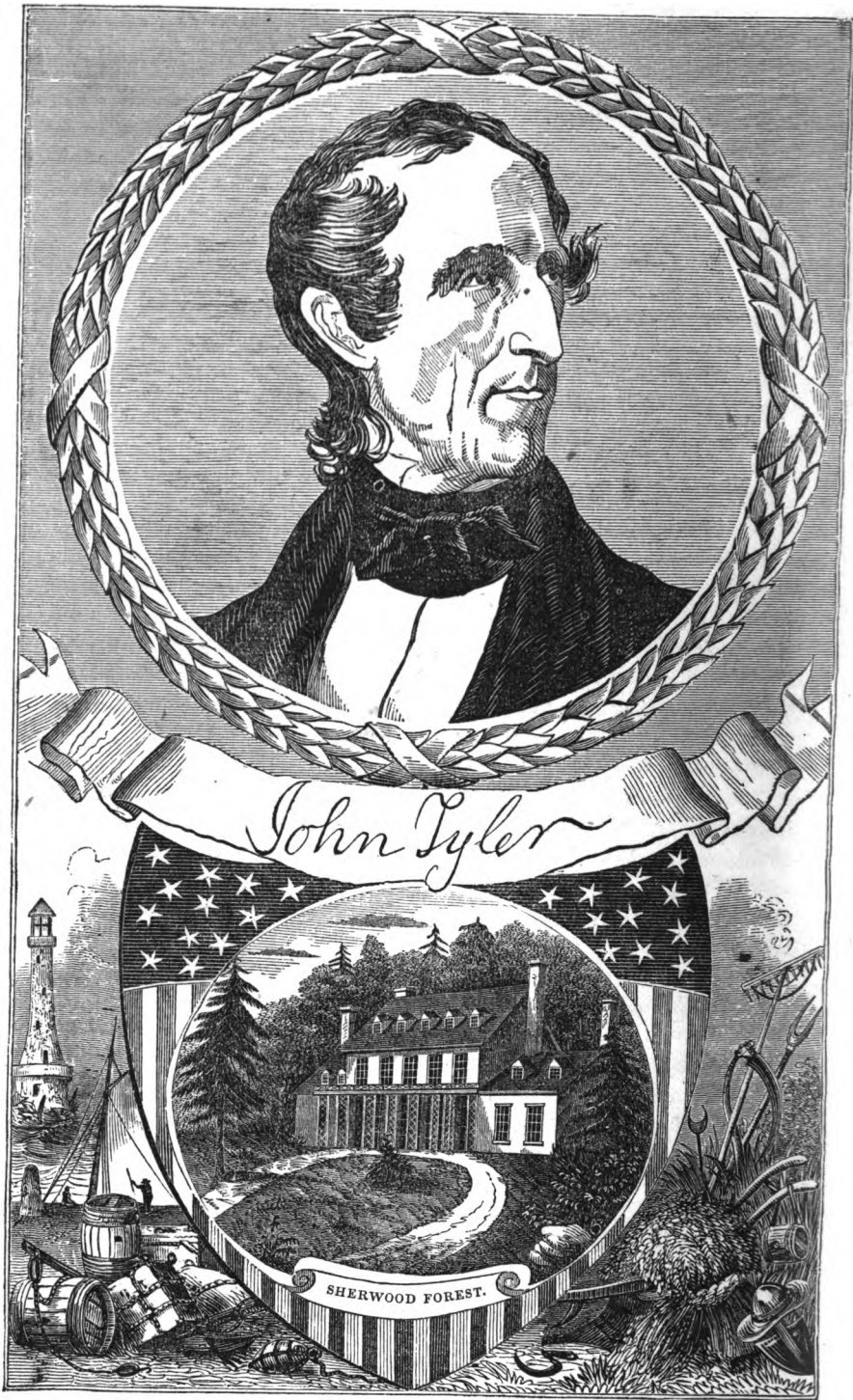
In person, he was tall and slender, and always enjoyed great bodily vigor. His dark eye was remarkable for its keenness and intelligence. Throughout a long life, he was distinguished for stern integrity, purity of purpose, and patriotism without alloy.

* Among other duties, was that of commissioner to treat with the Indians. He concluded fifteen treaties, and purchased their titles to upward of seventy millions of acres of land.

† The victory was achieved by the famous charge of Colonel R. M. Johnson at the head of mounted infantry, a manœuvre originating with General Harrison. Tecumseh was killed by Johnson's own hand. Congress voted a gold medal to be presented to Harrison.

‡ He appointed Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, secretary of state; Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, secretary of the treasury; John Bell, of Tennessee, secretary of war; George E. Badger, of North Carolina, secretary of the navy; Francis Granger, of New York, postmaster-general; and John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, attorney-general.

|| He fell a victim to the fatigue incident to the attention paid to ceaseless clamor for office, which greatly increased a slight disease caused by a cold. His last words were, "Sir, I wish you to understand the principles of the government. I wish them carried out. I ask nothing more."



JOHN TYLER,

THE TENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



AGAIN, for the sixth time, we record the birthplace of a president in Virginia. The ancestors of JOHN TYLER were among the early English settlers of that state.* His father was the intimate friend of Jefferson; Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, and other leading Virginia patriots, and he was one of the most active "*rebels*" of the Revolution. He held some of the highest offices (among which was governor) in Virginia, and was a man greatly beloved by the people.

The subject of this sketch was born on the 29th of March, 1796, in Charles City county, Virginia. While a mere child, he was studious, and at the age of twelve years he entered William and Mary college. He graduated at the age of seventeen years, with distinguished honor, and at once applied himself to the study of law, at first with his father, and afterward with Edmund Randolph. At nineteen he was admitted to the bar, without any inquiry having been made respecting his age; and so successful were his efforts, that within three months he was retained in almost every case brought before the court of his native county.

At the age of twenty-one years,* young Tyler was elected, by an almost unanimous vote, a member of the Virginia legislature. He was attached to the democratic party, and became exceedingly popular in his state as an orator and sound statesman.† He sup-

* 1811.

* His lineage connected him with the famous popular leader known as Wat Tyler, who, in the fourteenth century, headed an insurrection in England, and demanded from Richard II. a recognition of the rights of the people. He lost his life in the effort.

† He was a representative five successive years. On one occasion he received all the votes polled in his district except five; and afterward, when a candidate for Congress, he received one hundred and ninety-nine votes out of two hundred. In the Virginia legislature, he asserted the correctness of the doctrine of instruction, which, twenty-five years afterward, he did not forget, but acted upon the principles he then laid down.

Elected governor of Virginia.—Elected United States senator.—Resigns his seat in the senate.

ported the administration during the war with Great Britain,* and in 1816 he was elected to Congress. He served nearly two terms, but toward the close of the latter, in 1821, ill health compelled him to resign his station, and he retired to his farm† in Charles City county, carrying with him the profound respect of all parties.

Mr. Tyler did not long remain in private life. In 1823, he was again elected a member of the Virginia legislature, where he took the lead in all matters of public utility; and many of the finest works in that state are the result of his untiring labors.

In 1825, Mr. Tyler was elected governor of Virginia by a very large majority.‡ He was re-elected the following year, but resigned, in consequence of being elected to succeed John Randolph in the United States senate. He took his seat in that body in December, 1827. He voted against the tariff-bill of 1828, and was a firm supporter of General Jackson on his accession to the presidency, but ever pursuing an independent and consistent course. He sometimes differed with the president, and always honestly and frankly avowed his opinions. During the session of 1831-'2, he opposed the rechartering of the United States bank, and voted against it, as an unconstitutional measure.|| He also voted against the tariff-bill of 1832; but in the course of a speech in the senate, he inculcated doctrines of concession, upon which Mr. Clay, in 1833, predicated his famous compromise-act, for which Mr. Tyler voted.

In 1833, he was re-elected to the senate for six years. Siding with the nullifiers, he withdrew his support from President Jackson; and he also opposed the removal of the government deposits from the United States bank. His course in the senate separated him from the president's friends in Virginia, who subsequently supported Mr. Van Buren.

In 1836, the legislature of Virginia instructed the senators from that state to vote for expunging from the journals of the senate the resolution of Mr. Clay, censuring the president. As Mr. Tyler approved of the resolution, he could not obey instructions, and, true to his avowed principles, he resigned his seat, and was succeeded by Mr. Rives.

In the spring of 1838, the whigs of James City county elected Mr. Tyler a member of the Virginia legislature. In 1839, he was elected a member of the whig convention that met at Harrisburg to nominate a candidate for president of the United States. He was chosen vice-

* He raised a volunteer corps when Richmond was threatened, but they were never brought into the field. In allusion to this, his opponents, while he was president, called him "Captain Tyler," in derision.

† In 1813, he married Miss Lucretia Christian, daughter of Robert Christian, of New-Kent county, Virginia. She died at Washington, September 10, 1842.

‡ In July, 1825, he delivered in the capitol square, at Richmond, an eloquent eulogy on the death of Thomas Jefferson.

|| For the same reason he voted against its recharter in 1818.

Elected vice-president of the United States.—Becomes president.—His vetoes.—Annexation of Texas.

president of the convention, and warmly supported Mr. Clay for the nomination. General Harrison was nominated for president, and Mr. Tyler for vice-president, and in 1840 they were both elected.

As we have already stated, General Harrison's administration was only of a month's duration; and when the veteran expired,^a Mr. Tyler, in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, became president of the United States. He retained Harrison's cabinet in office, and, by his many removals from place of the supporters of Van Buren's administration, the whigs believed that he intended to carry out all their measures. His first message, too, recommending a bank or fiscal agent of some kind, gave them hopes; but when a bill (containing, as the framers supposed, a compromise sufficient to overcome the president's constitutional objections to a bank) passed both houses, and was presented to him for his signature,^b he sent it back with his objections—in other words, vetoed it. Having, in his veto-message, shadowed forth a fiscal agent, a bill in accordance therewith was framed and adopted: but this, too, he vetoed,^c and there not being a constitutional majority in its favor, it was lost. The sub-treasury law in the meanwhile had been repealed; great excitement prevailed, and all of Mr. Tyler's cabinet, except Mr. Webster, resigned. The president immediately filled his cabinet with prominent whigs and conservatives.*

The most important acts of the long session of 1841-'2 (two hundred and sixty-nine days) were, a new tariff-law for revenue and protection, and an apportionment of representatives according to the census of 1840.† An important treaty with Great Britain, settling the northeastern boundary of the Union, was ratified at Washington on the 28th of August, 1842. In May, 1843, the president appointed Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, a commissioner to the Chinese government. On the 12th of April, 1844, a treaty was concluded at Washington, providing for the annexation of Texas to the United States, but on the 8th of June it was rejected by the senate. On the 25th of January, a joint resolution for annexing Texas was adopted by the house of representatives, by a vote of 120 to 98; and the same was adopted in the senate on the 1st of March, by a vote of 27 to 25, and the same day it was approved by the president. Thus, two days before the expiration of his term of office, Mr. Tyler had the satisfaction of sanctioning by his signature an act, the consummation of which he had earnestly desired. On the 4th

* He appointed Walter Forward, of Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury; John M'Lean, of Ohio, secretary of war; Abel P. Upahur, of Virginia, secretary of the navy; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Kentucky, postmaster-general; and Hugh S. Legaré, of South Carolina, attorney-general. Judge M'Lean declining the appointment, John C. Spencer, of New York, was appointed.

† The ratio was fixed at seventy thousand six hundred and eighty for each representative.

His retirement. — His administration. — His person and character.

of July following, a constitutional convention that had assembled at Austin, in Texas, assented to the terms proposed by the government of the United States, and that state became a part of our great confederacy. The next winter, Generals Houston and Rusk (the former had been president of Texas) took their seats in the United States senate as her representatives.

Mr. Tyler was not a candidate for president,* and on the 4th of March, 1845, he resigned the office into the hands of James K. Polk, who had been elected to succeed him. He soon after left Washington, and retired to his estate near Williamsburg, in Virginia, where he still resides.†

Of the character of Mr. Tyler's administration, and his personal relations thereto, it is yet too early to speak. His independent course in vetoing the bank-bills, and other measures, greatly exasperated the party who had elevated him to office, and he was denounced as a traitor; while his equally independent course in opposing General Jackson in his measures against the United States bank, and also his alliance with the whigs during Mr. Van Buren's administration, denied him the confidence of the democrats. He himself said: "I appeal from the vituperation of the present day to the pen of impartial history, in the full confidence that neither my motives nor my acts will bear the interpretation which has, for sinister purposes, been placed upon them." As an executive of the people's will, he exhibited all the necessary vigor of a chief magistrate. "Nor is it to be denied," says one of his political opponents, "that the foreign relations of the United States were ably managed during his presidential term, and that he generally surrounded himself with able counsellors in his cabinet."

In person, Mr. Tyler is rather tall and thin, with light complexion, blue eyes, and prominent features. He is plain and affable in his manners; in private life is amiable, hospitable, and courteous; and is much beloved for his many virtues by all who know him.

* When, in May, the democratic convention assembled at Baltimore to nominate candidates for president and vice-president, delegates from various parts of the Union, favorable to Mr. Tyler, met in that city and placed his name in nomination. At the urgent solicitation of the friends of the democratic nominees, Mr. Tyler, in August, withdrew his name from the canvass.

† On the 26th of June, 1844, Mr. Tyler was married in the city of New York, to Miss Julia Gardiner, the daughter of the late David Gardiner, who was killed by the explosion on board the steamship Princeton.



JAMES KNOX POLK,

THE ELEVENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.



HE family of the present incumbent of the presidential chair came from Ireland in the early part of the last century. Ezekiel Polk, the grandfather of the president, was the son of the emigrant, whose name was Robert, who, just previous to his removal to America, married a Miss Gullet, the heiress of an estate called Morning Hill. Sometime previous to the commencement of the revolutionary war, the ancestors of James K. Polk settled near the western frontier of North Carolina, and they were among the most ardent patriots when that period of trouble arrived.* JAMES K. POLK was born in Mecklenberg county, North Carolina, on the 2d of November, 1795. In the autumn of 1806, his father, with a wife and ten children, removed to Tennessee, upon the Duck river, which region was then a wilderness. By application and perseverance, James acquired a good English education, and at the age of seventeen he was placed in a mercantile house. The pursuit did not accord with his taste, and after much solicitation he prevailed upon his father to allow him to prepare for a collegiate course, with a view to the acquirement of the profession of the law. At the age of twenty,^a he entered the university of North Carolina. There he was a distinguished pupil. At each semi-annual examination he took the first honors, and he graduated^b with the reputation of being the best scholar in mathematics and the classics in the institution. 1815.
1818.

* Colonel Thomas Polk, the great-uncle of the president, was the prime mover in the convention of the committee of safety in the county of Mecklenberg, North Carolina, who, on the 20th of May, 1775, nearly fourteen months before the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the continental Congress, passed resolutions declaring themselves free and independent of the British crown. He was chairman of the convention, and he was related to John M'Nitt Alexander, the secretary, and also to Dr. Brevard, the author of the resolutions.

Elected a member of the Tennessee legislature.—Elected to Congress.—Elected president.

He returned to Tennessee on leaving the university, with greatly-impaired health (the result of too close application to study), and commenced the study of law in the office of the late Felix Grundy. At the close of 1820 he was admitted to the bar, and commenced his professional career in the county of Maury. He soon took the lead in his profession, and his plain common sense and amenity of manners endeared him to a large circle of warm friends.

In 1823, he was elected a member of the Tennessee legislature, and this was almost his initial step in politics. He was a member of that body for two years, and his ability, eloquence, and industry, gave him a solid reputation and a wide influence.* He was chosen in August, 1825, to represent his district in Congress, where, through all the mutations of party, he preserved inviolate the democratic principles which he had regarded with veneration from his earliest youth. With one or two exceptions, he was the youngest member of the house: yet it was not long before he was one of the leading men there, and for nearly fourteen years his public life and the history of the house of representatives are identical.† He early took ground against a United States bank, and during the warfare of President Jackson against that institution, he was one of the firmest supporters of the administration. He was also an opponent of a high-protective tariff, and made a powerful speech against the collection of a surplus revenue from the people.

In December, 1835, Mr. Polk was elected speaker of the house of representatives; and he was again elected at the extra session in 1837. During five sessions he so performed the duties of speaker, that he obtained the cordial friendship and respect of both parties.

Having served as a representative for fourteen years, he declined a re-election in 1839. He was nominated for the office of governor, and in August, 1839, he was elected by a majority of more than twenty-five hundred over Governor Cannon. He was a candidate for re-election in 1841, but was defeated by a larger majority than he was previously elected by. He was again a candidate for governor in 1843, and was again defeated. On the 29th of May, 1844, the democratic convention at Baltimore nominated him for president of the United States, and in December following, the electoral college declared him chosen to fill that high trust, by a majority over Mr. Clay of sixty-five. George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, was elected vice-president.

Mr. Polk was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1845; and the next

* He was one of those who, in 1823-'4, called General Jackson from his retirement and elected him a member of the United States senate. Every branch of the Polk family have always been attached to the democratic party. Some of them in Maryland, who were the only democrats of note in Somerset county, were distinguished as "the democratic family."

† With the exception of one occasion, he was never absent from his place in the house a day during his whole term of service there.

day, the senate being in session, he made the nominations for his cabinet, which were confirmed.*

A year and a half of Mr. Polk's administration is unexpired.* Thus far, the chief event thereof is the commencement and continuance of a war with Mexico. Of the various causes which led to hostilities, we have not room to speak in detail; we must therefore be content with a brief notice of the leading facts connected with our present difficulties with that republic.

Texas, having maintained her independence of Mexico for nine years, and obtained a recognition of its independence from the United States and the principal powers of Europe,† applied for and obtained admission into the American Union by an act, approved by President Tyler on the 2d of March, 1845. Mexico had never acknowledged the independence of Texas (although that government had offered to do so, conditionally), and therefore the annexation to our territory of a province which she claimed as her own, was deemed by her a sufficient reason for terminating diplomatic intercourse with our government.

On the 6th of March, 1845, the Mexican minister at Washington demanded his passports, declared his mission ended, and protested against the act of Congress, which, as he averred, had severed from Mexico an integral part of her dominions. Herrera, the president of Mexico, issued a proclamation, denouncing the act as a breach of faith, and calling upon the people to rally in support of their rights. Small detachments of Mexican troops were already on the frontier of Texas, and larger bodies were ordered to the Rio Grande with the avowed object of enforcing the jurisdiction of Mexico over Texas.

By the terms of the treaty of annexation, the United States government was bound to protect the new state; and in view of the belligerent movements of Mexico, it was deemed advisable to send a military force to the Texan frontier, to act as circumstances might require. Accordingly, in the latter part of July, 1845, the United States government sent thither several military companies under the command of General Taylor, which took position upon an island near Corpus Christi bay, and north of the river Neuces. General Paredes, having been invested by the Mexican people with dictatorial powers, prepared to invade Texas with an army of six or seven thousand men. To guard against the evils of this threatened invasion, General Taylor broke up his encampment at

* See appendix, article "Successive Administrations," &c., page 128.

† From the earliest period of their independence, the Texan people desired a reannexation to the American Union, and overtures for an acknowledgment of their independence, and with it annexation implied, were twice made to our government, and refused, on account of existing treaties with Mexico. But these treaties were afterward so grossly violated by the successive executives of the Mexican government, that delicacy on that point was no longer demanded, and Texas was acknowledged a free and independent state.

The Mexican war. — The administration, person, and character, of the president.

Corpus Christi and took position upon the Rio Grande opposite Matamoras. It was while marching toward this point with a portion of his little army, that he was attacked by a large body of Mexicans who had crossed the Rio Grande, and the battles of *Palo Alto*^a and *Resaca de la Palma*^b ensued, which proved victorious to the Americans. On the 24th of May Matamoras surrendered, and the Americans took position on Mexican soil.

When the news of actual hostilities reached our government, Congress was in session, and an act was immediately passed, authorizing the president to raise by voluntary enlistment fifty thousand men, and also appropriated ten millions of dollars for the prosecution of the war in Mexico. The war still continues, and in every engagement of much consequence our army has been successful. On the 21st September, 1846, the Americans under Taylor attacked Monterey. It surrendered on the 24th. About the same time, divisions under Wool, Kearney, Fremont, and others, penetrated New Mexico and California, and took possession of some of the principal towns, among them Monterey on the Pacific.

Toward the close of 1846, General Scott was ordered to take the chief command in Mexico. He reached the Rio Grande in January, 1847, and soon began preparations to attack Vera Cruz, the nearest seaport to the city of Mexico. On the 22d of February, Taylor achieved a decisive victory at Buena Vista, and the Mexican army under Santa Anna was entirely routed. Taylor has since remained in that vicinity. On

^{c 1847.} the 13th of March,^c the United States military and naval forces invested Vera Cruz, and on the 29th the city and castle surrendered. Nearly every town on the gulf was taken possession of by our navy, and General Scott at once proceeded toward the capital. At Cerro Gordo he was met by Santa Anna with about twelve thousand troops, and a desperate battle ensued. Santa Anna was defeated, and the Americans pushed forward toward the city of Mexico. Scott fought two victorious battles near the city; the Mexican authorities proposed an armistice, for the purpose of negotiating peace. Hostilities, however, soon recommenced, and, on the 16th of September, Scott entered the capital in triumph.

Thus far, the administration of the government under Mr. Polk has been conducted with energy and ability, and fully realizing the expectations of his friends.

In person, Mr. Polk is of middle stature. His quick, penetrating eye, expansive forehead, and grave expression, are prominent features. In private life his amiability of character and purity of morals have secured the profound respect and esteem of all that know him; and his public career has been marked by amenity of manners, which commands the universal respect of his opponents. He is now fifty-two years of age.

APPENDIX.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

ADOPTED JULY 4, 1776.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights ; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness : that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed ; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present

king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:—

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws, for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the danger of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states: for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the condition of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our population and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in time of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation—

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments :

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connexion and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind — enemies in war — in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states ; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved ; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE,

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, JULY 4, 1776.

THE following list of members of the continental Congress who signed the Declaration of Independence, shows the places and dates of their birth, and the time of their respective deaths:—

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS.	BORN AT	DELEGATED FROM	DIED
Adams, John	Braintree, Mass., 19 Oct. 1735	Massachusetts,	4 July, 1826
Adams, Samuel	Boston, " 27 Sept. 1722	Massachusetts,	2 Oct., 1803
Bartlett, Josiah	Amesbury, " in Nov. 1729	New Hampshire,	19 May, 1795
Braxton, Carter	Newington, Va., 10 Sept. 1736	Virginia,	10 Oct., 1797
Carroll, Cha's, of Car'lton	Annapolis, Md., 20 Sept. 1737	Maryland,	14 Nov., 1832
Chase, Samuel	Somerset co., Md., 17 Apr. 1741	Maryland,	19 June, 1811
Clark, Abraham	Elizabeth'n, N.J., 15 Feb. 1726	New Jersey,	— Sept., 1794
Clymer, George	Philadelphia, Penn., in 1739	Pennsylvania,	23 Jan., 1813
Ellery, William	Newport, R. I., 22 Dec. 1727	R. I. & Prov. Pl.	15 Feb., 1820
Floyd, William	Suffolk co., N. Y., 17 Dec. 1734	New York,	4 Aug., 1821
Franklin, Benjamin	Boston, Mass., 17 Jan. 1706	Pennsylvania,	17 April, 1790
Gerry, Elbridge	Marblehead, Ma., 17 July, 1744	Massachusetts,	23 Nov., 1814
Gwinnet, Button	England, in 1732	Georgia,	27 May, 1777
Hall, Lyman	—, Conn., in 1731	Georgia,	— Feb., 1790
Hancock, John	Braintree, Mass., in 1737	Massachusetts,	8 Oct., 1793
Harrison, Benjamin	Berkely, Va., —	Virginia,	— April, 1791
Hart, John	Hopewell, N. J., about 1715	New Jersey,	—, 1780
Heyward, Thomas, jr. . . .	St. Luke's, S. C., in 1746	South Carolina,	— March, 1809
Hewes, Joseph	Kingston, N. J., in 1730	North Carolina,	10 Nov., 1779
Hooper, William	Boston, Mass., 17 June, 1742	North Carolina,	— Oct., 1790
Hopkins, Stephen	Scituate, " 7 March, 1707	R. I. & Prov. Pl.	13 July, 1785
Hopkinson, Francis	Philadelphia, Penn., in 1737	New Jersey,	9 May, 1790
Huntington, Samuel	Windham, Conn., 3 July, 1732	Connecticut,	5 Jan., 1796
Jefferson, Thomas	Shadwell, Va., 13 April, 1743	Virginia,	4 July, 1826
Lee, Francis Lightfoot	Stratford, " 14 Oct. 1734	Virginia,	— April, 1797
Lee, Richard Henry	Stratford, " 20 Jan. 1732	Virginia,	19 June, 1794
Lewis, Francis	Landaff, Wales, in Mar. 1713	New York,	30 Dec., 1803
Livingston, Philip	Albany, N. Y., 15 Jan. 1716	New York,	12 June, 1778
Lynch, Thomas, jr. . . .	St. George's, S. C., 5 Aug. 1749	South Carolina,	lost at sea, 1779
M'Kean, Thomas	Chester co., Pa., 19 Mar. 1734	Delaware,	24 June, 1817
Middleton, Arthur	Middleton Place, S. C., in 1743	South Carolina,	1 Jan., 1787
Morris, Lewis	Morrisania, N. Y., in 1726	New York,	22 Jan., 1798
Morris, Robert	Lancashire, Eng., Jan. 1733-4	Pennsylvania,	8 May, 1806
Morton, John	Ridley, Penn., in 1724	Pennsylvania,	— April, 1777
Nelson, Thomas, jr. . . .	York, Va., 26 Dec. 1738	Virginia,	4 Jan., 1789
Paca, William	Wye-Hill, Md., 31 Oct. 1740	Maryland,	—, 1799
Paine, Robert Treat	Boston, Mass., in 1731	Massachusetts,	11 May, 1804
Penn, John	Caroline co., Va., 17 May, 1741	North Carolina,	26 Oct., 1809
Read, George	Cecil co., Md., in 1734	Delaware,	—, 1798
Rodney, Cassar	Dover, Delaware, in 1730	Delaware,	—, 1783
Ross, George	Newcastle, Del., in 1730	Pennsylvania,	— July, 1779
Rush, Benjamin, M. D. . . .	Byberry, Penn., 24 Dec. 1745	Pennsylvania,	19 April, 1813
Rutledge, Edward	Charleston, S. C., in Nov. 1749	South Carolina,	23 Jan., 1800
Sherman, Roger	Newton, Mass., 19 April, 1721	Connecticut,	23 July, 1793
Smith, James	—, Ireland, —	Pennsylvania,	11 July, 1806
Stockton, Richard	Princeton, N. J., 1 Oct. 1730	New Jersey,	28 Feb., 1781
Stone, Thomas	Charles co., Md., in 1742	Maryland,	5 Oct., 1787
Taylor, George	—, Ireland, in 1716	Pennsylvania,	23 Feb. 1781
Thornton, Matthew	—, " in 1714	New Hampshire,	24 June, 1803
Walton, George	Frederick co., Va., in 1740	Georgia,	2 Feb. 1804
Whipple, William	Kittery, Maine, in 1730	New Hampshire,	28 Nov., 1785
Williams, William	Lebanon, Conn., 8 April, 1731	Connecticut,	2 Aug., 1811
Wilson, James	Scotland, about 1742	Pennsylvania,	28 Aug., 1798
Witherspoon, John	Yester, Scotland, 5 Feb. 1722	New Jersey,	15 Nov., 1794
Wolcott, Oliver	Windsor, Conn., 26 Nov. 1726	Connecticut,	1 Dec., 1797
Wythe, George	Elizabeth city co., Va., 1726	Virginia,	8 June, 1806

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,

COPIED FROM, AND COMPARED WITH, THE ROLL IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF STATE.

WE, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America :—

ARTICLE I.

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

SECTION 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative ; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers ; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief-justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications, of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States: if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill, shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the senate and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment), shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises, shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures.

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States ;

To establish postoffices and postroads ;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries ;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court ;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations ;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water ;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years ;

To provide and maintain a navy ;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces ;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions ;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ; — and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another : nor shall vessels bound to or from one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties, in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law ; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States ; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the

Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection-laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships-of-war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

SECTION 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:—

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.*]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

* This clause is annulled. See amendments, article xii.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president ; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation : " I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States ; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur ; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law ; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers ; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The president, vice-president, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states; and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings, of every other state. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings, shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state ; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular state.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion ; and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article ; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land ; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution, but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventh day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven

hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,
President, and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM,
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

Attest :

DELAWARE.

GEORGE REED,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.

JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL (OF ST. THOMAS) JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

AMENDMENTS*

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE THE FIRST. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE THE SECOND. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE THE THIRD. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in a time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

* Congress, at its first session, begun and held in the city of New York, on Wednesday, the 4th of March, 1789, proposed to the legislatures of the several states twelve amendments to the constitution, ten of which only were adopted.

ARTICLE THE NINTH. The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE THE TENTH. The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.* The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE THE TWELFTH.† The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate: the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the senate shall choose the vice-president: a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

NOTE.— Another amendment was proposed as article xiii., at the second session of the eleventh Congress, but not having been ratified by a sufficient number of states, has not yet become valid as a part of the constitution of the United States. It is erroneously given as a part of the constitution, in page 74, vol. i., Laws of the United States.

* This amendment was proposed at the first session of the third Congress. See ante art. iii., sect. 2, clause 1.

† Proposed at the first session of the eighth Congress. See ante art. ii., sect. 1, clause 3 Annulled by this amendment.

WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed to decline being considered among the number of those out of whom a choice is to be made. I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured that this resolution has not been taken without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest, no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness, but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I have been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety, and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have with good intentions contributed, toward the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the

increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country for the many honors it has conferred upon me ; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me, and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead — amid appearances sometimes dubious — vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging — in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism — the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts and the guaranty of the plans by which they were effected.

Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its benevolence ; that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual ; that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained ; that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue ; that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection, and the adoption, of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion. Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so, for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad ; of your safety ; of your prosperity ; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth ; as this is the point in your political fortress against

which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it: accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of AMERICA, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint counsels and joint efforts—of common dangers, sufferings, and successes. But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest: here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable *outlets* for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength, of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as ONE NATION. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connexion with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parties combined can not fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace

by foreign nations, and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty: in this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the UNION as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of government for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*: whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is, to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heartburnings which spring from these misrepresentations: they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states unfriendly to their interests in regard to the *Mississippi*; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties—that with Great Britain and that with Spain—which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, toward confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the UNION by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts, can be an adequate substitute: they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this

momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and alter their constitutions of government; but the constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government, presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe, the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force — to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp to themselves the reins of government — destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Toward the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what can not be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments as of other human institutions; that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country; that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each

member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally. This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitor, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it. It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of a popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warning, it should consume.

It is important likewise that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding, in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and

distributing it into different depositaries, and constituting each the guardian of public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern — some of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to constitute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, "Where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice?" — and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle. 'Tis substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened. As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit: one method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace; and remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulations of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that toward the payment of debts, there must be revenue: to have revenue, there must be taxes: that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; and the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and at no distant period a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings toward all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges toward another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation prompted by ill-will and resentment sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to the concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation), facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practise the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinions, to influence or awe public councils! Such an attachment of small or weak toward a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellites of the latter. Against the insidi-

ous wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens), the jealousy of a free people ought to be **CONSTANTLY AWAKE**; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests. The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connexion as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice? It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world — so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But, in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them. Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed — in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them — conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinions will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect

or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure — which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations: but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur, to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues, and guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism — this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated. How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still-subsisting war in Europe, my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1798, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it. After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take, a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance, and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all. The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose upon every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity toward other nations. The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will be best referred to your own reflection and experience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet-recent institutions, and to progress without interruption to that degree of strength and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest. Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I promise myself to realize without alloy the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government — the ever-favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIONS, FROM 1789 TO 1848

FIRST ADMINISTRATION—1789 TO 1797.—EIGHT YEARS.

PRESIDENT: GEORGE WASHINGTON, *Virginia*.

VICE-PRESIDENT: JOHN ADAMS, *Massachusetts*.

SECRETARIES OF STATE: Thomas Jefferson, of Va., Sept. 26, 1789; Edmund Randolph, of Va., Jan. 2, 1794; Timothy Pickering, of Pa., Dec. 10, 1795.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY: Alexander Hamilton, of New York, Sept. 11, 1789; Oliver Wolcott, of Conn., Feb. 3, 1795.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: Henry Knox, of Mass., Sept. 12, 1789; Timothy Pickering, of Mass., Jan. 2, 1795; James M'Henry, of Md., Jan. 27, 1796.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: No navy department during this administration.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: Samuel Osgood, of Mass, Sept. 26, 1789; Timothy Pickering, of Mass., Nov. 7, 1794; Joseph Habersham, of Ga., Feb. 25, 1795.

Year.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1789—	The expenditures from 4th March, 1789, to 31st December, 1791, are included in 1791.		
1791	\$1,921,589 52	\$5,285,949 50	\$7,207,539 02
1792	1,877,913 68	7,263,655 99	9,141,569 67
1793	1,710,070 26	5,819,505 29	7,529,575 55
1794	3,500,546 65	5,801,578 09	9,302,124 74
1795	4,350,658 04	6,084,411 61	10,435,069 65
1796	2,531,930 40	5,835,846 44	8,367,776 84
	<hr/> \$15,892,708 55	<hr/> \$36,090,946 92	<hr/> \$51,983,655 47

SECOND ADMINISTRATION—1797 TO 1801.—FOUR YEARS.

PRESIDENT: JOHN ADAMS, *Massachusetts*.

VICE-PRESIDENT: THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Virginia*.

SECRETARIES OF STATE: Timothy Pickering, continued in office; John Marshall, of Va., May 13, 1800.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY: Oliver Wolcott, continued in office; S. Dexter, of Mass., Dec. 31, 1800.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: James M'Henry, continued in office; S. Dexter, of Mass., May 13, 1800; Roger Griswold, of Conn., Feb. 3, 1801.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: George Cabot, of Mass., May 3, 1789, declined; Benjamin Stoddart, of Md., May 21, 1798.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL: Joseph Habersham, continued.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1797	\$2,833,590 96	\$5,792,421 82	\$8,626,012 78
1798	4,623,223 54	3,990,294 14	8,613,517 68
1799	6,480,166 72	4,596,876 78	11,077,043 50
1800	7,411,369 97	4,578,369 95	11,989,739 92
	<hr/> \$21,348,351 19	<hr/> \$18,957,962 69	<hr/> \$40,306,313 88

THIRD ADMINISTRATION—1801 TO 1809.—EIGHT YEARS.

PRESIDENT: THOMAS JEFFERSON, *Virginia*.

VICE-PRESIDENTS: AARON BURR, *New York*; GEORGE CLINTON, *New York*.

SECRETARY OF STATE: James Madison, of Va., March 5, 1801.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY: S. Dexter, continued in office; Albert Gallatin, of Pa., Jan. 26, 1802.

SECRETARY OF WAR: Henry Dearborn, of Mass., March 4, 1801.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: Benjamin Stoddart, continued in office; Robert Smith, of Md., Jan. 28, 1802.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: Joseph Habersham, continued in office; Gideon Granger, of Conn., Jan. 26, 1802.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1801	\$4,981,669 90	\$7,291,707 04	\$12,273,376 94
1802	3,737,079 91	9,539,004 76	13,276,084 67
1803	4,002,824 24	7,256,159 43	11,258,983 67
1804	4,452,857 91	8,171,787 45	12,624,645 36
1805	6,357,234 62	7,369,889 79	13,727,124 41
1806	6,080,209 36	8,989,884 61	15,070,093 97
1807	4,984,572 89	6,307,720 10	11,292,292 99
1808	6,504,338 85	10,260,245 35	16,764,584 20
	\$41,100,787 68	\$65,186,398 53	\$106,287,186 21

FOURTH ADMINISTRATION—1809 TO 1817.—EIGHT YEARS.

PRESIDENT: JAMES MADISON, *Virginia*.VICE-PRESIDENTS: GEORGE CLINTON, *New York*; ELBRIDGE GERRY, *Mass.*

SECRETARIES OF STATE: Robert Smith, of Md., March 6, 1809; James Monroe, of Va., Nov. 25, 1811.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY: Albert Gallatin, continued in office; George W. Campbell, of Tenn., Feb. 9, 1814; Alexander J. Dallas, of Pa., Oct. 6, 1814.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: William Eustis, of Mass., March 7, 1809; John Armstrong, of N. Y., Jun. 19, 1813; James Monroe, of Va., Sept. 26, 1814; William H. Crawford, of Ga., March 2, 1815.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: Paul Hamilton, of S. C., March 7, 1809; William Jones, of Pa., Jan. 12, 1813; Benjamin W. Crowninshield, of Mass., Dec. 19, 1814.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: Gideon Granger, continued in office; R. J. Meigs, of Ohio, March 17, 1814.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1809	\$7,414,672 14	\$6,452,554 16	\$13,867,226 30
1810	5,311,082 28	8,008,904 46	13,319,986 74
1811	5,592,604 86	8,009,204 05	13,601,808 91
1812	17,829,498 70	4,449,622 45	22,279,121 15
1813	28,082,391 92	11,108,128 44	39,190,520 36
1814	30,127,686 28	7,900,543 94	38,028,230 22
1815	26,953,571 00	12,628,922 35	39,582,493 35
1816	23,373,432 58	24,871,062 93	48,244,495 51
	\$144,684,939 76	\$83,428,942 78	\$228,113,882 54

FIFTH ADMINISTRATION—1817 TO 1825.—EIGHT YEARS.

PRESIDENT: JAMES MONROE, *Virginia*.VICE-PRESIDENT: DANIEL D. TOMPKINS, *New York*.

SECRETARY OF STATE: John Q. Adams, of Mass., March 3, 1817.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY: William H. Crawford, of Ga., March 5, 1817.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: Isaac Shelby, of Ky., March 5, 1817, declined the appointment; John C. Calhoun, of S. C., Dec. 16, 1817.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: Benjamin W. Crowninshield, continued in office; Smith Thompson, of N. Y., Nov. 30, 1818; S. L. Southard, of N. J., Dec. 9, 1823.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: Return J. Meigs, continued in office; John M'Lean, of Ohio, Dec. 9, 1823.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1817	\$15,454,609 92	\$25,423,036 12	\$40,877,646 04
1818	13,808,673 78	21,296,201 62	35,104,875 40
1819	16,300,273 44	7,703,926 29	24,004,199 73
1820	13,134,530 57	8,628,494 28	21,763,024 85
1821	10,723,479 07	8,367,093 62	19,090,572 69
1822	9,827,580 55	7,848,949 12	17,676,529 67
1823	9,784,154 59	5,530,016 41	15,314,171 00
1824	15,330,144 71	16,568,393 76	31,898,538 47
	\$104,363,446 63	\$101,366,111 22	\$205,729,557 85

126 SUCCESSIVE ADMINISTRATIONS, FROM 1789 TO 1848.

SIXTH ADMINISTRATION—1825 TO 1829.—FOUR YEARS.

PRESIDENT: JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, *Massachusetts*.

VICE-PRESIDENT: JOHN C. CALHOUN, *South Carolina*.

SECRETARY OF STATE: Henry Clay, of Ky., March 8, 1825.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY: Richard Rush, of Pa., March 7, 1825.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: James Barbour, of Va., March 7, 1825; Peter B. Porter, of N. Y., May 26, 1828.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY: Samuel L. Southard, continued in office.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL: John McLean, continued in office.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt	Total.
1825	\$11,490,459 94	\$12,095,344 78	\$23,585,804 72
1826	13,062,316 27	11,041,082 19	24,103,398 46
1827	12,653,096 65	10,003,668 39	22,656,765 04
1828	13,296,041 45	12,163,438 07	25,459,479 52
	<hr/> \$50,501,914 31	<hr/> \$45,303,533 43	<hr/> \$95,805,447 74

SEVENTH ADMINISTRATION—1829 TO 1837.—EIGHT YEARS.

PRESIDENT: ANDREW JACKSON, *Tennessee*.

VICE-PRESIDENTS: JOHN C. CALHOUN, *South Carolina*; MARTIN VAN BUREN, *New York*.

SECRETARIES OF STATE: Martin Van Buren, of N. Y., March 6, 1829; Edward Livingston, of La., 1831; Louis McLane, of Del., 1833; John Forsyth, of Ga., 1834.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY: Samuel D. Ingham, of Pa., March 6, 1829; Louis McLane, of Del., 1831; William J. Duane, of Pa., 1833; Roger B. Taney, of Md., 1833—not confirmed by the senate; Levi Woodbury, of N. H., 1834.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: John H. Eaton, of Tenn., March 9, 1829; Lewis Cass, of Ohio, 1831.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: John Branch, of N. C., March 9, 1829; Levi Woodbury, of N. H., 1831; Mahlon Dickerson, of N. J., 1834.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: William T. Barry, of Ky., March 9, 1829; Amos Kendall, of Ky., 1835.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt	Total.
1829	\$12,660,490 62	\$12,383,867 78	\$25,044,358 40
1830	13,229,533 33	11,355,748 22	24,585,281 55
1831	13,864,067 99	16,174,378 22	30,038,446 12
1832	16,516,388 77	17,840,309 29	34,356,698 06
1833	22,713,755 11	1,543,543 38	24,257,298 49
1834	18,425,417 25	6,176,565 19	24,601,982 44
1835	17,514,950 28	58,191 28	17,573,141 56
'836	29,621,807 82		29,621,807 82
	<hr/> \$144,546,404 08	<hr/> \$65,532,603 36	<hr/> \$210,079,007 44

EIGHTH ADMINISTRATION—1837 TO 1841.—FOUR YEARS.

PRESIDENT: MARTIN VAN BUREN, *New York*.

VICE-PRESIDENT: RICHARD M. JOHNSON, *Kentucky*.

SECRETARY OF STATE: John Forsyth, of Ga., appointed June 27, 1834, resigned March 3, 1841.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY: Levi Woodbury, of N. H., appointed June 27, 1834, resigned March 2, 1841.

SECRETARY OF WAR: Joel R. Poinsett, of S. C., appointed March 7, 1837, resigned March 2, 1841.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: Mahlon Dickerson, of N. J., appointed June 30, 1834, resigned June, 1838; James K. Paulding, of N. Y., appointed from June 30, 1838, resigned March 2, 1841.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: Amos Kendall, of Ky., appointed May 1, 1835, resigned; John M. Niles, of Conn., appointed from May 25, 1840, resigned March 1, 1841.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1837	\$31,793,587 24	\$21,823 91	\$31,815,410 15
1838	31,578,785 08	5,605,720 27	37,184,505 35
1839	25,488,547 73	11,127,987 42	36,616,534 15
1840	23,327,772 11	4,086,614 70	27,414,386 81
	\$112,188,692 16	\$20,842,146 30	\$133,030,836 46

NINTH ADMINISTRATION—1841 TO 1845.—FOUR YEARS.

PRESIDENT: WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, *Ohio*.—Died April 4, 1841.

VICE-PRESIDENT: JOHN TYLER, *Virginia*.

PRESIDENT: JOHN TYLER, *Virginia* (from April 4, 1841).

SECRETARIES OF STATE: Daniel Webster, of Mass., appointed March 5, 1841, resigned May 8, 1843; Hugh S. Legaré, of S. C., appointed May 9, 1843, died June 20, 1843; Abel P. Upshur, of Va., appointed June 24, 1843, died February 23, 1844; John Nelson, of Md., acting, Feb. 29, 1844; John C. Calhoun, of S. C., appointed March 6, 1844, resigned March 1, 1845.

SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY: Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, appointed March 5, 1841, resigned; Walter Forward, of Pa., appointed September 13, 1841, resigned; George M. Bibb, of Ky., appointed June 15, 1844, resigned March 3, 1845.

SECRETARIES OF WAR: John Bell, of Tenn., appointed March 5, 1841, resigned; John C. Spencer, of N. Y., appointed Oct. 12, 1841, transferred to treasury department; James M. Porter, of Pa., appointed March 8, 1843, rejected by the senate; William Wilkins, of Pa., appointed Feb. 15, 1844, resigned March 3, 1845.

SECRETARIES OF THE NAVY: George E. Badger, of N. C., appointed March 5, 1841, resigned; Abel P. Upshur, of Va., appointed Sept. 13, 1841, transferred to department of state; David Henshaw, of Mass., appointed July 24, 1843, rejected by the senate; Thomas W. Gilmer, of Va., appointed Feb. 15, 1844, died Feb. 28, 1844; John Y. Mason, of Va., appointed March 14, 1844, resigned March 3, 1845.

POSTMASTERS-GENERAL: Francis Granger, of N. Y., appointed March 6, 1841, resigned; Charles A. Wickliffe, of Ky., appointed Sept. 13, 1841, resigned March 3, 1845.

Years.	Expenditures.	Public Debt.	Total.
1841	\$26,196,840 29	\$5,600,689 74	\$31,797,530 03
1842	24,361,336 59	8,575,539 94	32,936,876 53
1st Jan. to Jan. 30,			
1843	11,256,508 60	861,596 55	12,118,105 15
For the year ending Jan. 30,			
1844	20,650,198 01	2,991,802 84	33,642,001 85
From July to Dec. 31,			
1844	11,700,159 50	1,538,478 06	13,238,637 56
	\$94,164,952 99	\$29,568,207 13	\$123,838,160 12

TENTH ADMINISTRATION—1845 TO —.

PRESIDENT: JAMES KNOX POLK, *Tennessee*.

VICE-PRESIDENT: GEORGE M. DALLAS, *Pennsylvania*.

SECRETARY OF STATE: James Buchanan, of Pa., appointed March 5, 1845.

SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY: Robert J. Walker, of Miss., appointed March 5, 1845.

SECRETARY OF WAR: William L. Marcy, of N. Y., appointed March 5, 1845.

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY: George Bancroft, of Mass., appointed March, 1845—transferred to the English mission; John Y. Mason, of Va., appointed 1846.

POSTMASTER-GENERAL: Cave Johnson, of Tenn., appointed March 5, 1845.



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